THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC

QUARTERLY REVIEW

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(Extract from Salutatory, July, 1890.)

VOL. XLII.—JULY, 1917—NO. 167.

THE CHURCH AND HUMAN SLAVERY IN THE TIME OF COLUMBUS.

LAS CASAS AND MONTESINOS.

CASTING our eyes over the history of nations, whether ancient or modern, we are confronted with the question of human bondage. Slavery has too often been the penalty paid by the weak to the strong, by the vanquished to the conqueror. Nor has this stain upon civilization always been regarded with the horror it inspires to-day—if we except the ban which Christianity has always placed upon it. The customs of bygone times seemed to warrant the traffic in slaves because, no doubt, it constituted one of the greatest sources of revenue. Thus it is that the brilliant fame of such men as Columbus and even the gentle Las Casas has been sullied by the enslavement of their fellow creatures, at one time or another, after their arrival in the New World.

The early Spanish explorers of our continent found precedent, if not warrant, for their un-Christian conduct towards the natives, in the dealings of their sovereign, King Ferdinand of Spain. In his wars with the Moors it was no unusual thing to "make inroads upon Moorish territory and carry off not merely flocks and herds, but quiet villagers and helpless women and children, who were taken to the marts of Sevilla and elsewhere and sold into slavery,"[1] and in our day Kultur revels in this abominable practice.

[1] See Irving's "Columbus."

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But slave dealing and the ownership of slaves was not confined to the Latin race, for we find at a later period (when the world had made greater progress towards civilization!) the honest and pious Sir John Hawkins kidnapping negroes on the coast of Guinea and carrying them to Hispaniola to be sold into slavery. So far from being ashamed of his trade, this same Hawkins, when knighted by Queen Elizabeth, took, as part of his coat of arms, the effigy of a captive negro bound with chains, and even his royal mistress did not disdain to share the profits of her brave knight, as commander of a regular slave trading vessel. Nor must we lose sight of the fact—borne out by New England historians—in considering the usage received by the unfortunate negroes, that the English were far more cruel slave-holders than the Spaniards or Portuguese. Nor was slavery among the early New Englanders confined to negroes, for we find that by the midsummer of 1676 the three tribes of Indians concerned in the war that ended at South Kingston, R. I., were annihilated. Nearly all the warriors, including Canonchet and King Philip, were killed, and those who survived, among whom was the son of Philip, were sold as slaves and sent to die under the burning sun of the Bermudas.[2]

These incidents are not cited to vindicate, but only, in a measure, to palliate the conduct of Columbus and his immediate successors, who merely acted in conformity with the orders of the Royal Council to Spain and to the customs of the times, which were, in a measure, at least, sanctioned by the example of the King under whom they served.

Writers of the present day, and not a few in the past also, all wishing to deal fairly with the Columbian period, have, nevertheless, asserted or intimated that the Church sanctioned slavery. In doing this they have fallen into the error of charging the Church with the sins of some of its unworthy agents. "It is only in the abuse of them by individuals to whom the execution of the laws are entrusted," says Washington Irving in his "Columbus," "that atrocities are committed." Back in the twelfth century (1167) Pope Alexander III. proclaimed that "nature having made no slaves, all men have an equal right to liberty." In his letters to Lupus, King of Valentia, this Pope says (and Bancroft gives a full translation of his words): "But since nature has created all men free, no one was,

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2 "Hist. U. S.," By John Fiske. See also Hassand's "History of the United States," p. 119, as follows: "The Spanish missions in Florida and Georgia were almost entirely destroyed by the English, who attacked them with the help of their pagan Indian allies, the Alabamas, and carried off the converts to be sold as slaves. In 1705 the English and the Alabamas took St. Mark's, the chief settlement of the Appalaches mission, massacred eight hundred Indians and three friars and carried off an immense number of slaves."

by the condition of nature, subject to servitude." (*"Cum autem omnes, liberos natura creasset, nullus conditione naturae fuit subditus servitute."*)[3] It is true that some Papal bulls secured to the Portuguese the exclusive traffic with Western Africa, but the slave trade between Africa and America was never expressly sanctioned by the See of Rome. Leo X. declared that "not the Christian only, but nature itself cries out against the state of slavery."

No, the Catholic Church, as we shall see further on, has ever held that

"He who permits oppression shares the crime."

With these few words of introduction, let us go back to Hispaniola in the days of Columbus and study the baneful effect of the white man's rule over the poor aborigines in that beautiful island and the adjacent territory. We have not space in which to tell how avarice, jealousies and lust accomplished the destruction of the little colony left by Columbus at La Navidad; how the Admiral founded another colony and built another fort on a different part of the island, which he called Isabella, in honor of his royal mistress, and which was the first permanent settlement made on the American continent, and finally, how hearing of the gold mines of Cibao, Columbus sent to have them explored. Here was the beginning of the end of the Indian race in Hispaniola (now Hayti). These children of nature, little dreaming of the ruin they were bringing upon themselves by the act, gave pieces of gold to the Spanish messengers, who carried them to the Admiral with such glowing accounts of what they had seen, that he at once resolved to establish a colony at Cibao, a prominent mountain in the central part of the island, and this colony marked the first important step in the history of slavery in Spanish America. Only what is required for the truth of history bearing upon it, will be related here. We shall enter into none of the shocking details.

In January, 1494, Columbus deemed it necessary to make a report of the condition of his colony to his sovereigns, through Antonio de Torres, captain of the ship Mariagalante and Governor of the city of Isabella, who was to proceed to Spain and inform the monarchs of "such things as were written in this report." This document dealt with a general statement of the discoveries that had been made; the reasons that prevented the Admiral from sending more gold than he did; the necessity for building a fortress in the gold region; the need of provisions for the colony; complaints about defects in certain things that had been sent, etc. The report was received by the sovereigns and notes were made in the margin ex-

[3] "Hist. Anglie. Scrit.," Vol. I.

pressing their "thanks to God" for some things; their "approbation" of others; their command that "Juan de Fonseca provide for certain matters," etc.

Finally comes the question of enslaving the natives. Columbus informed "their Highnesses" that he had sent to Spain some Indians from the Caribs, "wild people, fit only for work," that they be made slaves, and taught Spanish, so that they might, later on, serve as interpreters, and thus assist the work of conversion. In support of this proceeding the Admiral argued that it was a work of charity to remove these people from cannibalism, and have them baptized and thus save their souls. Then, again, the Caribs were a terror to the other Indians, who were a peaceable people, and the latter would be grateful to the Spaniards for their removal and subjugation. These arguments, though not devoid of selfishness, were not without force, but they were full of danger to the natives of America, and the sovereigns were not slow to see the impending dangers of the introduction of a system of human bondage as abhorrent to civilization as it was to the Church. They realized that the Admiral's motives might be right from his own point of view; that his intention was to fill the coffers of Spain with wealth, and to effect the conversion to Christianity of a benighted people, but they also recognized that the proposition involved the establishment of the slave trade. Their answer was: *"As regards this matter, it is suspended for the present, until there come some other way of doing it there, and let the Admiral write what he thinks of it."*[4]

This answer on the part of the sovereigns, while marked by consideration for the Admiral, clearly indicates that the proposition for the establishment of slavery was not to be considered by them. It is unquestionably a condemnation of Columbus' proposition. It is no *less* a condemnation of their own subsequent action on the premises.

It is true that the Royal Council advised the sovereigns to treat rebellious Indians as captives, and that upon this recommendation "their Highnesses" authorized the Admiral to send them to Spain as slaves. But we must remember that neither the Royal Council nor the sovereigns themselves were the Church. There may have been ecclesiastics upon that Council who acted individually, and whose greed for "graft" may have warped their conscience, but they were not the Church, nor did they voice the sentiments or teachings of the Catholic Church.

Despite opposition and condemnation, slavery continued to in-

[4] En esto se ha suspendido por agora hasta que venga otro camino de alla, y escriba el Almirante lo que en esto le pareciere. "Navarre te Col." Vol. I., f283.

crease on the islands. The large additions made by Obando to the revenues of the crown seemed, for a time, at least, to dim the vision and close the ears of the monarchs to the unheard-of cruelties and perfidies he perpetrated upon the unfortunate aborigines; they will always be a blot upon his name and a dishonor to his country.

The province of Jaraqua was at that time governed by an Indian princess, known as Anacoana, whose kindness and hospitality to the Spaniards was equaled only by that of Guacanagari at Navidad. Obando obtained possession of this princess by treachery; the caciques who accompanied her were burned alive, and the beautiful but unfortunate Anacoana perished upon the scaffold, while her province was desolated. The only excuse offered by Obando for these outrages was that the Indians were about to rebel against the iron rule of their oppressors, or had refused to work in the mines or perform other labor far beyond the strength of a people who had been accustomed to a life of idleness. As a consequence of this continued barbarity the native population diminished, some falling victims to hard and enforced labor, others falling in unequal warfare, while others fled to adjacent islands. Obando soon realized that he would soon be left without hands to do his work, and the means he resorted to to remedy the loss was worthy of such a persecutor. He turned his eyes to the Lucayan Islands[5] for fresh victims. Cruising among these islands he succeeded in luring the simple inhabitants upon his vessel and carrying them off to Hispaniola under the impression that they were being transferred to a delightful region, the land of their ancestors and deceased friends, and where they would enjoy the greatest happiness. The unsuspecting Lucayans believed what they were told, and, in time, 40,000 of these unfortunates went to die of hard labor and the barbarous treatment of their masters on the island of Hispaniola. The generous soul turns with horror from such perfidy and cruelty, and it is hard to understand how the Court could tolerate such inhumanity. But the Court was far away, and many of these horrors never came to their knowledge. No sooner did the noble Isabella hear of them than she, at once, decreed the liberation of the Indians, but it was not long before forced labor was again permitted at the instigation of Obando, who deceived his sovereigns with the story that the colony was going to ruin, and, making use of the cover of religion, he claimed that it was impossible to convert the Indians unless they were subjected to Christian masters who could instruct them. This

[5] The Lucayan Islands—or Bahamas. Their names, according to Oviedo, are as follows: Guanahari, Cayos, Jumeto, Yabaque, Mayaguana, Samana, Guanina, Yuma, Curatheo, Ciguateo, Bahama (que es la mayor de todas), el Yucayo y Negua, Habacoa, e otras muchas isletas paqueñ asque por alli hay.—"Hist. de las Indias."

pretext was resorted to in order to secure the King's permission for the atrocious carrying off of the Lucayans.

Indeed, it would appear that the colonial leaders regarded the Indians as anything but human beings, unworthy of the sacraments and of the rights of man. Thus it came to pass that they were held in the most cruel bondage wherever the Spaniards were in power. Following the practice in Hispaniola, other conquerors in different places "allotted" the poor natives as if they were herds of cattle. According to his position, each colonist had "allotted" to him a greater or lesser number of Indians to cultivate the lands that had come into his possession or to work for him in the mines. It was this that gave rise to the terms *repartimientos* and *encomiendas* (or entrusted). The Indians were *entrusted* to him that they might be instructed in the truths of religion. It is a question how much the Indian profited by his "recommendation," but there is no question as to how much the white man became enriched by the labor of his *protegé*. Father Charlevoix, the modern historian of St. Domingo, says that "the governors of the Indians, even those who were noted as good men before, all turned out cruel tyrants."

To such excess was the ill-treatment and abuse of the poor natives carried, and so great was the mortality among them, that the missionaries (the "friars," as they were called on the island) found it necessary to interfere in their behalf.

In 1511 Fray Pedro de Cordoba was superior of a community of Dominican Fathers at Hispaniola. These devoted men had come from far-off Spain to save souls, not to hunt for gold. Their eyes had been seered too long by the horrors they had witnessed, and they determined to assert themselves. Father Antonio Montesinos and other members of the community did not hesitate to raise their voices, first at Hispaniola and, later on, in other places, against these outrages, and they went so far as to deny the sacraments to those who held *encomiendas*. The fathers resolved to speak their minds boldly whatever danger to themselves might come from it. There was to be no half-heartedness in their protest, and every father was to share in the blame, if any, that might follow their action. They determined to give vent to their feelings, and they prepared a sermon that was to be preached. Father Montesinos, who was an eloquent and popular preacher, was appointed to deliver it. Notice was sent out that an address of unusual importance to all Spaniards in the colony was to be delivered in the church on a given Sunday, and their attendance was requested. The church was thronged. Father Montesinos ascended the pulpit and announced his text from the Gospel of the day: *"Vox clamantes in deserto"* ("I am the Voice of one crying in the desert"), and he proceeded to

declare, in very "piercing and terrible words (*"palabras muy pungitivas y terribles"*) that the Voice proclaimed that they were all living in mortal sin because of their injustice and cruelty to these innocent people, the Indians. How could the colonists insist upon such cruel labors as they did from the natives, and at the same time neglect all care of them, both in the things of heaven and of earth? Such Spaniards, the preacher declared, had no more chance of salvation than so many Moors or Turks.[6]

It would be difficult to describe the effect of this sermon upon Don Diego Columbus, the principal officers of the colony and the laymen who had listened to it. They left the church full of indignation, and later in the day, after a heated consultation, they came back to the bark-covered building which had been dignified by the name of convent, and complained most bitterly to the superior, Fray Pedro de Cordoba. They wanted to see the man who had dared to say to their very faces *tantas locuras* (so many crazy things), and insisted that he should retract his words on the following Sunday.

The good and determined superior was expecting them, and made them understand, very plainly, too, that the sermon complained of was not the work of any one of the fathers, but that it voiced the sentiment of the entire community, which was ready to assume responsibility for every word that had been uttered, and that "it was serviceable to God and to the King." The Governor and his fellow-remonstrants still insisted that unless Father Antonio recalled his words the "frailes" (friars) would be required to gather up their effects and return to Spain. *"De veras, senores!"* ("Of a truth, my Lords"), replied Father de Cordoba, "that will be easily done"—which was true enough, for Las Casas tells us that all their belongings would scarcely have filled two trunks.[7] It was finally agreed that the matter should be "referred to" on the following Sunday.

Expecting to hear the superior make an humble apology for the utterances of the previous Sunday, the sacred edifice was again crowded. The Mass over, to their great surprise Father Antonio went into the pulpit and boldy maintained his position as a sacred duty. This time his text was from Job xxxvi., 4: *"Vere enim absque mendatio sermones mei, et perfecta scientia probabitur tibi."*[8]

Those of his hearers who understood Latin at once realized the manner of apology God's minister was about to make to men who were dishonoring religion. "For, indeed, my words are without a lie, and perfect knowledge shall be proved to thee!" Pausing to

[6] "Spanish Conquest of America," Sir Arthur Helps.

[7] Las Casas, "Hist. de las Indias." Tom. III.

[8] It is customary in Spanish churches for the preacher to announce his text first in Latin and then in the vernacular.

allow his words to produce their full effect upon his hearers, Father Montesinos repeated his former arguments and, emphasizing them with all the force at his command, he announced that the "friars" would refuse absolution to any one who made incursions upon the Indians or treated them inhumanly. This was their decision; this they regarded as their sacred duty, and this the colonists might publish and write to whom they pleased in Spain.

The remonstrants left the church in silence; there was nothing to be said, but it was not long before they sent the Franciscan Father, Alonzo de Espinal, to Spain, to plead their case at court, and secure the recall of men who were a menace to the peace of the colony. The Dominicans immediately sent Father Antonio de Montesinos to represent their side. In Spain the heroic Dominican found it difficult to get a hearing; all manner of excuses were made, and his antagonist was gaining upon him and seemed likely to win the case.

One day in sheer despair Father Antonio forced his way into the presence of the King, and as a priest of God demanded a hearing. He obtained it, and Ferdinand appointed a Junta to examine into the claims of the contending parties. But Father Antonio, who was a man of business, could not brook the law's delay. Then, too, it was evident to him that his adversary enjoyed advantages that were denied to him by the Junta, and indignant at the injustice he was undergoing and animated by the justice of his cause, he resolved to face his brother friar and settle the matter with him on the spot. He waited for Fray Alonzo and addressed him in these words: "Good brother, have you anything to take out of this world with you besides that greasy, ragged habit that covers your body?" The Franciscan was startled at the abrupt manner of the Dominican, who was not slow in following up his advantage with such convincing arguments that he soon succeeded in showing his Franciscan brother that men were using him as a tool; that he was doing the devil's work without being paid for it, even with the devil's wages. He next proceeded to expose to him the true manner of treatment of the Indians, and appealed to his own experience to prove the inhumanity he had witnessed. The spirit of St. Francis still burned in the heart of the Franciscan; he listened to the voice of reason and humanity and was convinced. Father Antonio returned to Hispaniola the next year, having succeeded in inducing the King to take some steps towards ameliorating the condition of the Indians.

Father Antonio de Montesinos was the first to denounce human slavery in America. "Glorious Montesinos," says John Fiske, in his "Discovery of America," "first of preachers on American soil to declare war to the knife against the gravest of American sins,"

and the effect of his work is manifest in the restrictions inserted in the second patent granted to Ponce de Leon.[9]

Fourteen years later (1526) we find this same Father Montesinos with Father Cervantes planting the Cross at San Miguel de Guandape, on the James River, in Virginia, upon the site on which eighty years later John Smith established the famous colony of Jamestown. It was at this mission of San Miguel that the explorer de Ayllon expired of a malarious sickness in the arms of these two Dominican Fathers.

We may add, in connection with Father Montesinos, that he was the "first priest known to have officiated within the present limits of the United States." He was "a son of the Convent of Salamanca," was protector and defender of the Indians, in behalf of whom he wrote a learned treatise, entitled *"Juridica in Indorum Defensionem."* He is supposed to have died somewhere in South America about the year 1545. Opposite his name on the list preserved in the convent at Salamanca are the words: "Obiit Martyr."[10]

Notwithstanding the efforts of King Ferdinand—never overstrong—to make the Indians a free people and entitled to all the rights of men, the *repartimientos* were not abolished. The Dominicans renewed their efforts to obtain relief for the natives with such boldness and zeal that the planters became alarmed and the colony greatly disturbed. At length Ferdinand issued a decree through his council,[11] declaring that after mature consideration of the Papal bull and other titles by which the crown of Castile claimed its possessions in the New World, the servitude of the Indians was warranted by the laws of both God and man—that unless they were subjected to the dominion of the Spaniards and compelled to live under their inspection, it would be *impossible to convert them.* This was a most extraordinary construction to put upon a Papal bull and a still more original way of gaining souls to the God of the Christians. It is true that the King, while conferring new grants on his favorites, realized that he should, at least, preserve the semblance of providing for the humane treatment of the Indians, and therefore commanded that houses should be built for them. He also regulated the nature of the work to be required of them, and prescribed the mode in which they should be clothed and fed, and even went so far as to give directions for their instruction in Christian morality.[12]

But it was in vain that the King declared new laws for the lighten-

[9] "Coleccion de Documentos ineditos," XXII., pp. 23-38.

[10] Quetif and Echard, "Scriptores Ordinis Prædicacatorum," II., p. 123. See also Las Casas, "Historia Apologica," c. 247.

[11] Herrera, Dec. I., lib. VIII., c. 11., Ovriedo, lib. III., p. 97.

[12] Herrara, Dec. I., lib. IX., c. 14.

ing of the deadly burdens that weighed upon the unfortunate natives. They were laughed at by the heartless and avaricious colonists, and they likewise failed to silence the voices of the Christian defenders of the oppressed. The Dominicans made renewed and more vigorous protests. With few exceptions from this time forth we find Bishops, priests and missionaries in different parts of America defending the natives against the tyrannical pretentions of their conquerors. True, the voice of the priest was often drowned by the din of war, but it did succeed in improving the condition of the Indians to a certain extent and in obtaining for them some valuable concessions. The Roman Pontiffs protested more than once against the un-Christian conduct of Europeans in America, and Pope Paul III. issued a bull declaring the capacity of the Indians to receive the sacraments.

As a consequence of the preaching of Father Antonio Montesinos and the other Dominican Fathers and the manner in which he justified his conduct before the King, the latter sent Don Rodrigo de Albuquerque to put into strict execution certain laws intended to mitigate if not entirely remove abuses. Unfortunately, the Commission turned out worse than the *encomendadores,* venal and without conscience.

It was at this time (1515) that God raised up one whose name was to be forever identified with the Indians in Spanish America and was thenceforth to be known as the "Apostle of the Indians."

Bartolome de Las Casas was the son of Don Antonio de Las Casas, who accompanied Columbus on his second voyage to America. He was born at Sevilla in 1474. His parents were in easy circumstances and were able to send him to the University of Salamanca, where he won a licentiate's degree. His father had acquired an estate in Hispaniola, and when twenty-eight years of age (1502) Bartolome came to America with Obando, and, so far as we know, devoted his attention, for a time at least, to the improvement of his earthly possessions. But the things of earth did not engross all his attention, for eight years after his arrival in America (1510) we find him at the altar receiving the holy order of priesthood. From this we are justified in stating that he was the first priest ordained on the American continent and the first to celebrate his "first Mass" in the New World. I have been for years endeavoring to ascertain *where* and by *whom* Las Casas was ordained. None of the biographies or lives of Las Casas ever ventured to give more than the date, 1510. On a recent visit to Havana I called at the Dominican convents and the good fathers tried to help me as best they could, but many valuable documents had been destroyed by fire. They gave me what they could find, but the

date I wanted was missing. Through the kindness of some of my clerical friends in the Cuban capital, I was accorded an audience by Monseñor Pedro Gonzales y Estrada, Bishop of Havana, who very kindly had the archives searched, and in a few weeks sent me the following information:

"The Bishop who ordained Las Casas was the Licenciado Don Alonzo Manso. He was not Bishop of La Vega, but of San Juan de la Maguana, Haiti. There was something remarkable about this 'first Mass' The clergy present gave no blessing, and except at Mass, not a drop of *wine* was consumed, as there was none on the whole island and no ships had arrived from Spain for some time."

This first ordination in the New World and the fact of a priest singing his first Mass on this occasion was a matter of universal rejoicing,[13] and the Admiral, Don Diego Columbus, and his staff, together with the distinguished men of the colony, witnessed the ceremony.

Las Casas was "a very notable person," says Sir Arthur Helps; "of that force of character and general ability that he would have excelled in any career. Indeed, he did fulfill three or four vocations, being an eager man of business, a considerable annalist, a great reformer, a great philanthropist and a vigorous ecclesiastic. The utmost that his friends or enemies could, with the slightest truth, allege against him was an over-fervent temperament. . . . If it can be proved that he was on any occasion too impetuous in word or deed, it was in a cause that might have driven any man charged with it beyond all bounds of prudence in the expression of his indignation. . . . He was eloquent, acute, truthful, bold, self-sacrificing, pious."

Charlevoix describes Las Casas as "a man of reliable erudition, ardent nature, of a courage that difficulties only strengthened; of a heroic virtue that nothing could change when he felt the glory of God was involved, and as he had rendered great service in the island of Cuba, his reputation was great throughout the islands. His only fault was a too lively imagination, which he permitted to control him to too great an extent. Such a man as this could readily enter into the sentiments of the Dominican Fathers, and no one was better fitted to enforce those sentiments than he was, and he did it so untiringly to the end of his life."[14]

John Fiske says: "He was a person of such immense ability and

[13] En este mismo año avia cantado Missa el licenciado Bartolomé de Las Casas, que fue la primera Missa nueva que se canto 'en las Indias, y fue celebrada del Almirante y de todas que se hallavan en la ciudad de la Vega. * * * Tuvo una calidad notable esta Missa nueva, que las clerigos que en ella se hallaron no bendezian. Herrera, Dec. I., lib. VII.

[14] "Histoire de Saint Dominque," 1730.

strength of character that in whatever age of the world he had lived he would undoubtedly have been one of the foremost men. . . . He was very apt to call a spade a spade and to proclaim unpleasant truths with repugnant emphasis, but his justice is conspicuously displayed in all his writings."[15] Here is the estimate of the man by two historians not of his faith.

It was at this time that good Father Montesinos and his brother Dominicans were waging their relentless war upon the *repartimientos* and the *encomiendas* that Las Casas comes into history. At first he, too, was a slaveholder like his fellow-countrymen, and he had seen as little harm in it as they had. His kind and sympathetic nature manifested itself in his treatment of the Indians, and they recognized in him a good man and a friend. But the crusade preached by the Dominican Montesinos made a deep impression upon him, notwithstanding the fact that he might have considered him a little intemperate in his views of the case. Still his sympathies went out to the work of the missionary and he reflected upon the situation. Then, too, the words of the departed Isabella, when Columbus took his first load of Indians to Spain, began to ring in his ears. "Who has empowered the Admiral to dispose of my subjects?" asked the indignant Queen.

Las Casas began by giving up his own slaves, and then, from the pulpit, called upon others to go and do likewise. Not satisfied with this, he sold all his worldly goods and repaired to Spain to plead the cause of the poor slaves before the King, and the cold-hearted Ferdinand consented to do something which death prevented him from carrying out (1516).

The Cardinal Regent, Don Ximenes de Cisneros, so celebrated in Spanish history, lent a benignant ear to the plea of Las Casas and named him "Protector of the Indians," and gave him authority to deal with the judges or public officers who failed to be guided by his regulations. He furthermore sent three Jeronymite Fathers to Hispaniola with Las Casas, who were to act as commissioners and assist in regulating the *repartimientos* and put a stop to the cruelties which were practiced against the Indians. This body performed its duty with impartiality and did much to alleviate the condition of the natives. To some they gave freedom, and they insisted upon the carrying out of the royal edicts favoring those they were unable to liberate. The great moderation of the commissioners gave general satisfaction; all joined in praising the courage of Cardinal Ximenes in forming his plan and in the selection of the men to carry it out.[16]

[15] "The Discovery of America," by John Fiske, Vol. II., p. 440.

[16] Herrera, Dec. 2, lib. II., ch. 15.

But the zeal of the charitable Las Casas was not yet satisfied. The enslavement of the Indians was avowedly unrighteous; it was a violation of the soundest and clearest principles of natural justice and of Christianity, and entailed an amount of human misery which nothing but the grossest avarice would dare to put in the balance against the gold, the sugar and the cotton of the colonists. Perceiving that his efforts in America on behalf of his beloved Indians promised little, in May, 1517, he set out for Spain to obtain, if possible, the absolute and entire abolition of slavery in the colony.

King Ferdinand had gone before a higher King to give an account of the "deeds done in the flesh," and of his dealings in human flesh, and young King Charles of Austria had succeeded to the Spanish throne. Las Casas made a touching appeal to the new Court, and, despite the opposition of the representatives the colonists had sent to the mother country to counteract his efforts, he succeeded in obtaining a reconsideration of the laws relating to the Indians. But even with this the heroic friar was far from the realization of his hopes. The alleged impossibility of carrying on the work of mining, etc., in America unless the natives were compelled to work was an insuperable obstacle to their recognition as freemen.

This brings us to the oft-repeated statement that Las Casas, hoping thereby to release the Indians from the bondage in which they were held, proposed to replace them with Negroes purchased from the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Africa. In other words, the man who denounced human slavery and visited those who engaged in it with all the anathemas that Holy Church could hurl upon them is charged with sacrificing one race of God's creatures for another. He was pleading for an innocent and happy race of Indians whom his countrymen had found free and infantile in their garden of delight and had repaid their more than generous hospitality by outrage and slavery, and he would replace them by another to be torn from their distant homes and subjected to unheard-of barbarities on this journey to the New World, and after they had reached it! And Catholic historians blindly follow the lead of men who have a loose and careless way of making so-called historical research. "Paw first and then Raynal and Robertson have brought the charge against Las Casas of having first introduced African slavery into the New World," when "they know the charge is false."[17] "The statement, says John Fiske, in his "Discovery of America," "is a good specimen of the headlong, helterskelter way in which things get said and believed in this superficial world."

[17] "Las Casas and the Relations of the Spaniards to the Indians." By George Edward Ellis, in Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History."

"In the instructions sent by the Catholic Sovereigns, in 1500, to Nicolas Obando, this Governor was commanded to *permit the importation of Negro slaves* born under Christian rule! Such a large number arrived in the colony that Obando found it necessary to write to the Spanish Sovereigns that it was time to stop the trade, because the Negroes abandoned the habitations of the Spaniards and buried themselves in the mountains. This statement of the Governor is sufficient to prove the error and injustice of some writers who have accused Las Casas of having introduced the slave trade into the colonies in 1517, as it is certain that it was in full operation in 1502, the year in which Las Casas first came to America."[18]

From the reliable authorities just quoted it is evident that the blame for the introduction of slavery in America is *not* to be laid at the door of Las Casas, although he did, at one time, entertain the suggestion that the African, because of his superior strength and powers of endurance, would be more available in the mines of Hispaniola, and as African slavery already existed on the island, he regarded it as the lesser of two evils. His regret at having conceded even this much, when he realized the full extent of the effect of his concession, was beyond expression and followed him to the day of his death.

But the introduction of African slavery did not accomplish the desired effect, because of the unbounded avarice of those engaged in the slave trade.

Las Casas next conceived the project of colonizing the Indians and bringing them under the beneficent influences of religion instead of exterminating them, as was being done, by brute force. His idea was to try the plan in places where the Spaniards were already established, but the crimes of the whites rendered his efforts impracticable. He next thought of trying those regions where no European colonies had yet been founded, and, at last, in 1520, after untold difficulties, he succeeded in obtaining permission to found a colony after his own heart, at Cumana, on the Pearl Coast. But the Indians on this coast knew the Spaniards and entertained a most intense hatred for them because of their having repeatedly pounced upon them and carried off their people into bondage. This unfortunate occurrence sadly interfered with the plans of the good missionary. In vain did he dress his followers in white garments with a red cross upon their breasts; the hostility of the Indians was such that several of his Dominican missionaries were killed, and the renewed cruelties of the Spaniards to these poor Indians

[18] Vie de Bartholomé Las Casas, Évéque de Chiapas, en Amérique—J. A. Llorente.

under pretext of avenging the death of the missionaries rendered the work of the heroic Las Casas well nigh hopeless. Wearied by repeated disappointments he returned to Hispaniola and sought rest and consolation among his old friends, the sons of St. Dominic, who received him with open arms, and who, in 1522, had the happiness of welcoming him into the Order of St. Dominic.

For eight years after receiving the "habit," Las Casas remained at the convent engaged in study and meditation and in writing his famous "Historias de las Indias." Very little is known of the life of this holy man during his novitiate and the four years immediately following it. We may well imagine that he was making a regular course of dogmatic and moral theology, which he had been unable to do during his preparation for the priesthood. Even though in Holy Orders he was obliged to comply with the rule of the Order of Friar Preachers, and to apply himself during the first years of his life as a religious to a systematic and serious study of the ecclesiastical sciences. When he returned to the active ministry, he is said to have been profoundly versed in civil and canon law, in moral and dogmatic theology, intimately acquainted with the civil, moral and religious conditions of both Europe and America. His short conventual seclusion had increased and intensified his zeal, his faith and his enthusiasm.

No wonder, then, that the peace and quiet of the convent had no charms for him while the yearnings of his generous soul remained unsatisfied. From the seclusion of his peaceful abode he heard the groans of the victims of civilized cruelty, and he seemed to see the torments which his beloved Indians suffered in so many parts of the New World.

In 1534 he emerged from his retirement and, with a band of devoted missionaries, he visited the coasts of Honduras. So infuriated did he find the natives of this province against the Spaniards, that even they despaired of ever being able to subjugate them, and they gave the country the significant name of the "Land of War."

Las Casas succeeded by pious hymns and tender exhortations in gaining the confidence of this people, and, in time, so modified their disposition that the name of the province was soon changed to *Vera Paz*. Alas! at the very moment when the plans of the indefatigable defender of the Indians was about to bear fruit, the war declared by Pedro de Alvarada for a season dampened his hopes, but in 1537 Pope Paul III. issued a Brief forbidding the further enslavement of the Indians under penalty of excommunication, and any governor who should give or any colonist who should accept a new *encomienda* of Indians was to be denied the

sacraments. This famous Bull of Paul III., *Sublimis Deus Sic Dilexit,* clearly sets forth that "whoever has the nature of man is capable of receiving the faith of Christ. . . . The Indians, who are true men, not only are capable of the faith, but . . . earnestly desire to embrace it. . . . We define and proclaim that said Indians, or any other people, who may be hereafter discovered by Catholics, although they be not Christians, *must in no way be deprived of their liberty or their possessions,* and that on the contrary they may and must be *allowed to enjoy freely and lawfully of said liberty and possessions;* that they must *not be in any manner enslaved,* and that if they be so enslaved, *their slavery must be considered* null and void."

The spread of slavery was stopped forever. Las Casas went to Spain, where he remained for five years. In 1542 he realized the triumph of his life in the promulgation of the "New Laws" by the Emperor Charles V. The decisive clause was as follows:

"We order and command that henceforth for no cause whatever, whether of war, rebellion, ransom or any other manner, can any Indian be made a slave."

This was the deathblow of slavery. The services of Las Casas in behalf of a downtrodden and cruelly abused race was not forgotten. The See of Cuzco was offered to him, but his humility would not permit him to accept it. Then, too, he remembered that some twenty-two years before, in the presence of the highest court officials, before whom he was pleading the cause of his beloved Indians, he had solemnly and impassionately said to the Emperor:

"That my meaning may not be misunderstood, I hereby renounce and decline any favor or temporal reward that your Majesty may hereafter offer me. And, should it come to pass that I, either personally or through a third person, directly or indirectly, should solicit any favor or reward for my services, I am willing to be branded as a liar and a traitor to my King."

Later on Las Casas was forced to accept the See of Chiapas. After repeated refusals the "Mandamus" came, and he yielded in holy obedience. He realized, too, that as a Bishop he could exert a power and influence in behalf of his persecuted Indians which he could never hope for as a simple Dominican Friar.

The strength of his sympathetic and Christian feeling was his surest inspiration through life. His mission was simply the bursting into action of heroic faith. He lived in it and was lighted to heaven by the flame of his enthusiasm. To ask whether such a man may be ranked among the benefactors of his race is to ask whether charity sheds light or darkness over the world. Suffice it to say that Las Casas, in his eighty-seventh year, in the peaceful cloisters

of his convent, at Valladolid, finished his "Historia de las Indias." This work remained unedited until some forty years ago, when it was published in Spain, and republished in Mexico in 1877. In bequeathing this work to the College of St. Gregory of Valladolid, he requested his Dominican brethren "not to give it to any layman to read, inside or outside of the college for the space of forty years, beginning with January 1, 1560. . . . After this, should it appear to them expedient for the good of the Indians and of Spain to do so, they may have it printed for the glory of God, and mainly in order than the truth may be known."

The "Historia General de las Indias" closes with the year 1521, and its author was an eye-witness of many of the most important events recorded therein, and he may be justly regarded as the Father of American History. He wrote a separate volume called "Historia Apologica de Las Indias," and the two volumes together make about two thousand five hundred octavo pages of ordinary print. No one can read them without becoming convinced that their author was a man of prayer, that he possessed to an eminent degree an abiding faith in God and His providence and that he was constant in the practice of the virtue of mortification.

On July 31, 1566, in his cell in the Convent Nuestra Señora de Atocha, Las Casas, surrounded by his Dominican brothers, gave his soul to God and slept in peace.

John Fiske, a non-Catholic, in his "Discovery of America," sums up the life of Las Casas in this beautiful tribute:

"In contemplating such a life as that of Las Casas, all words of eulogy seem weak and frivolous. The historian can only bow in reverent awe before a figure which is, in some respects, the most beautiful and sublime in the annals of Christianity, since the apostolic age. When, now and then, in the course of centuries God's providence brings such a life into this world, the memory of it must be cherished by mankind as one of its most precious and sacred possessions. For the thoughts, the words, the deeds of such a man, there is no death. The sphere of their influence goes on widening forever. They bud, they blossom, they bear fruit, from age to age."

It was the nature of Las Casas to love; it was his glory to be loved by those in whose service he spent himself. His religion breathed the gentleness of the lamb, the emblem of the Saviour. His whole life was the history of a good man struggling with the impossibilities of his times. He thirsted for Christian equality. He established liberty, justice, morality and charity in the dealings of the Government with the oppressed. He was the tribune of virtue, the prophet of social improvement. A soldier of Christ, he

went forth to battle armed with the rosary instead of the sword, and he fought the good fight, like the Christian he was, to the end, and he could say with truth: "I trust in God and know in whom I trust."

"How beautiful it is for man to die
Upon the walls of Zion! To be call'd
Like a watch-worn and weary sentinel,
To put his armor off, and rest—in heaven.
His heart was with Jerusalem, and strong
As was a mother's love, and the sweet ties
Religion makes so beautiful at home,
He flung them from him in his eager race,
And sought the broken people of his God
To preach to them of Jesus."

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MEDIÆVAL COMMENT ON JOB IV., 12.

WHEN Thomas à Kempis wrote: "Blessed are the ears that receive the veins of the divine whisper" in the golden book of the Imitation, he was using a phrase in the Vulgate Latin of Job ("venas susurri.")[1] Most of his translators into English and other languages appear to have been quite unaware of the Scriptural source of the puzzling expression, and rendered it in many variant and often mutually exclusive ways. They gave us such words and phrases as "sound," "breathings," whisperings," "soft echoes," "murmur," "soft murmur," for "venas." The comparatively few translators who gave plain indication that they were aware of the source of the phrase rendered "venas" by "instillings," "pulses," "runlets," "at least a faint sound," "murmur," "soft murmur" and other variants.[2]

An investigation made with the help of modern commentators on Job gave us little or no help in attaching a reasonable interpretation to the phrase as it occurs in the Imitation.[3] This investigation was not wholly inadvisable, however, since it eliminated one large and possibly inviting field for speculation, and meanwhile served to illustrate better (as we shall now see) the great distinction that must be made between modern and mediæval exegesis. For the real question to be discussed when we endeavor to interpret the mind of Thomas à Kempis is not what was the thought of St. Jerome in rendering the Hebrew word "shemets" by the Latin phrase "venas susurri," but rather what was the interpretation given to that phrase of the Vulgate by the author of the Imitation when he used it in the form "venas divini susurri." And the question is to be answered, not by an appeal to the meaning (whatever it was) of the Hebrew original, of which the author of the Imitation doubtless never thought for a moment, but by a consideration of the meaning, whether literal or mystical, attached to the Latin phrase by Christian commentators and ascetical writers from the fifth to the fifteenth century.

A translator of the Imitation should reflect that he is not called upon to reproduce or represent faithfully the language of the Hebrew

[1] In Job iv., 12, the phrase is: "venas susurri ejus:" "Porro ad me dictum est verbum absconditum, et quasi furtive suscepit auris mea venas susurri ejus." In the Imitation, III., i., 1, "divini" replaces "ejus," and we thus have the expression which has puzzled all the translators: "venas divini susurri:" "Beatae aures quae venas divini susurri suscipiunt, et de mundi hujus susurrationibus nihil advertunt."

[2] For many illustrations see the REVIEW for October, 1916, pp. 673-696, and January, 1917, pp. 17-47.

[3] Cf. "The Veins of Its Whisper" in the REVIEW, April, 1917.

Bible or the Latin Vulgate. He is rather properly expected to interpret the thought of a fifteenth century mystic who used the phrase of the Vulgate in a sense given to it, not even by mediæval commentators merely, but specifically by the ascetical writers, and especially the mystical writers, favored (and therefore clearly understood) by the religious community for the spiritual edification of whose members the Imitation was composed.

The distinction just made will appear valid when we shall have considered the tradition of the middle ages and its occasional variants in the exegesis of the phrase. But also, by way of anticipation, attention should be directed to another interesting fact. In discussing the mediæval commentators on Job, we should constantly bear in mind that it was not so much the Book of Job upon which they exercised their genius at interpretation and their deeply pious instincts, as St. Jerome's Latin translation of that Book from the Hebrew. It was not the writer of the Book of Job who used the expression, "the veins of its whisper," but St. Jerome. The Hebrew writer expressed his thought in the single word "shemets." But St. Jerome poetized thereon, and rendered it by what was perhaps an indivisible phrase, "venas susurri." Unaware of this fact, the mediæval writers commented separately on "venas" and on "susurri." Susurrus meant for them one thing, and venae meant a different thing. And whether it was St. Gregory the Great interpreting Job "morally," or St. Thomas Aquinas expounding Job "literally," the phrase was split up into its two components, which were severally endowed with peculiar moral or literal intimations. Still another interesting fact to which the reader's attention may now be called is that the mediæval commentators, by way of a natural corollary from their custom of splitting the phrase into its component parts, were inclined formally to ascribe to Eliphaz all the subtle meanings which they themselves had elaborated from long meditations made separately on "venas" and on "susurri."

PHILIP THE PRIEST.

If St. Jerome ever wrote a commentary on the Book of Job, it has been lost in "the wreck of time." We can only conjecture what he meant by that curious phrasal coinage of his, "the veins of its whisper." The Patrologia Latina of Migne places, as an appendix to the seventh volume of his works, a commentary on Job which is attributed to a certain Philippus Presbyter, a disciple of St. Jerome, who flourished in the first half of the fifth century. Now if this commentary were not so highly allegorical and mystical in its exposition, a reader would naturally hope to glean from the work of the disciple some knowledge of the intentions of the master. It

is strangely comforting and, in view of the characteristic exposition just alluded to, perhaps significant, to find that Philip avoids a mystical or moral interpretation of our verse, and appears to attempt an exposition of its literal meaning. Unlike his general style, moreover, his comment here is exceedingly brief and straightforward. Having placed the Vulgate text of Job iv., 12-17, he follows it with the single comment:[4] "That is, secretly to the ear of my heart did the force of its meaning penetrate as by a kind of breathing."

Philip apparently represents the "whisper" by "quodam spiramine," and the "veins" by "virtus sententiae." The revelation made to Eliphaz was conveyed in a whisper, and its full import was brought to his mental ear as blood is brought to the remotest portions of the body by "veins" (arteries). It is needless to point out that this interpretation is a direct contradiction (by anticipation) of the "little portion" favored by the modern commentators,[5] or "the soft murmur" which Pineda[6] commended as probably in the mind of St. Gregory the Great, or the "parts" or fragments that Delitszch[7] declared to be implied by the "veins" in St. Jerome's phrase. The "vein" would be fairly rendered in the sense of Philip by our idiom of the "marrow" or inmost meaning.

The same interpretation, set in an enlarged context, is given in the commentary on Job attributed[8] to Philip the Priest. The comment is interlinear with the Vulgate text: "A divine secret was made known to me by revelation, that is, the cause of your sufferings; in a hidden manner the force of its meaning came to the ears of my heart." Here, again, the "veins" of the whisper are interpreted to mean the very intimate force, the excellent purport, of the message or "word" spoken in a whisper to Eliphaz.

Whether this commentary, ascribed to Philip, be genuine or not, matters little. It is not necessary to contend that he properly understood St. Jerome's meaning. If the work be spurious, it at least represents the view which its mediæval author considered the most probable one or the one perhaps entertained in the middle of the fifth century. And so we get a first intimation that Thomas à Kempis may have meant something very different from the interpretations of his use of the phrase into English and other languages. It follows

[4] Id est, latenter ad aurem cordis mei virtus sententiae velut quodam spiramine penetravit. This is the only comment given to verses 12-17 in a fairly extensive commentary, and seems to apply only to the second half of the 12th verse.

[5] Cf. the REVIEW, April, 1917, pp. 208-213.

[6] Ibid., p. 211.

[7] Ibid., p. 212.

[8] In the Patrol. Lat. of Migne, LIII., 1011: "Anno Domini 455. Philippus Presbyter." The commentary itself is found in P. L., XXIII., 1401.

that the translation of the Imitation by Father Thaddeus, O. F. M., which rendered "venas divini susurri" by "at least a faint sound of the divine whisper," and in support of this interpretation appealed to the commentary of Carrières upon the original verse in Job, loses some of the force that a reader would naturally and properly accord it.[9] The interpretation went counter to those that had, in very varied fashion, preceded it. And it seemed to have on its side the authority of learned commentators upon Job.

Once more, then, the lesson is borne in upon us that an appeal to whatever meaning St. Jerome really intended by his "venas susurri ejus" cannot settle for us the meaning which Thomas à Kempis gave to his own use of the phrase. Besides, he enlarged the expression by adding "divini" to the "susurri," or say, rather, he perhaps interpreted the "ejus" to refer to God and not, as modern commentators do, to the "verbum absconditum."[10] Bearing these two facts in mind, we go on to St. Gregory.

ST. GREGORY THE GREAT.

Leaving thus the fifth century and coming to the sixth, we find St. Gregory the Great (d. 604) commenting largely on our verse in the fifth book of his Moralia. It was not his purpose in this extended commentary on the Book of Job to attempt a literal exegesis. The title of his work is based on his frequent digressions from exposition to moral application. And his exposition itself is not literal in the modern sense, but allegorical, or mystical. The immense influence the Moralia exercised on the pious learning of the middle ages, and accordingly on the interpretations given to "venas susurri ejus" by mediæval commentators, will justify large quotation here.

The hidden word which Eliphaz heard suggests first of all to the Saint the claims of heretics to divine and secretly given revelations. "Heretics pretend that they hear a hidden word," he says, "in order that they may obtain a certain kind of reverence for their preaching in the minds of their hearers. They therefore preach ob-

[9] Carrières simply followed the general view that "venas susurri" meant "a little" of the whisper. Cf. the REVIEW, October, 1916, p. 696.

[10] Porro ad me dictum est verbum absconditum, et quasi furtive suscepit auris mea venas susurri ejus. St. Gregory and other mediæval commentators appear to consider the revelation made to Eliphaz as coming from God, and understand "ejus" to refer to God rather than to the "verbum absconditum." When translating their commentaries into English, I think it well to render "venas susurri ejus" by "the veins of His whisper" and not, as Challoner (following the Doway translators) does, by "the veins of its whisper." We shall find St. Gregory replacing "ejus" by "divini," and thus giving us the exact phrase afterwards used by Thomas à Kempis in the Imitation.

scurely,[11] so that their preaching may be esteemed holy in proportion to its obscurity. They will not share in the common knowledge of men, lest they be thought merely like other people; and they are always seeking out some novelties, that they may find glory in the minds of the unskilled for knowing that of which others are ignorant. And, as we have said, they declare that this knowledge is occult, affirming that they have obtained it in a secret fashion, in order to show that it is something wonderful. And therefore the woman in Solomon,[12] taking the character of heretics, saith: 'Stolen waters are sweeter, and hidden bread is more pleasant.' "

The quotation of this verse from Proverbs offers to St. Gregory a pleasant bridge for passing over from the "verbum absconditum" ("panis absconditus") to the "quasi furtive" ("aquae furtivae") of the second hemistich of verse 12. And accordingly the Saint forthwith continues: "And so this follows: 'Et quasi furtive suscepit auris mea venas susurrii ejus' ['And as it were by stealth mine ear received the veins of His whisper'].[13] They receive by stealth the veins of the whisper, because leaving the grace of a knowledge that binds a community together, they do not at all enter into it by the door, as the Lord witnesseth in His declaration: 'He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up another way, the same is a thief and a robber.'[14] He, then, receives by stealth the veins of the divine whisper, who, seeking a knowledge of its power,[15] departs from the door of public preaching and seeks the chinks of a perverted interpretation."

In this extract we come upon our phrase of the Imitation, "venas divini susurri," "the veins of the divine whisper." Clearly, however, the interpretation which St. Gregory here gives to the phrase is not that of Thomas à Kempis, who declares the ears "blessed" that receive the veins of the divine whisper. But we have come upon one interesting view of the relation between a whisper and its veins. The "whisper" symbolizes an open door; the "veins," slender chinks or cracks. We hear only faintly or partially through chinks; and the interpretation of St. Gregory comes pretty close here to that of the modern commentators who represented the veins by the Latin words parum, pauxillum, pauxillulum and the rest of the extensive synonymy employed by them.[16]

[11] Latenter—with a hidden meaning?

[12] Proverbs ix., 17: "Aquae furtivae dulciores sunt, et panis absconditus suavior."

[13] Properly, "the veins of its whisper." Cf. footnote 10.

[14] John x., 1.

[15] Virtutis.

[16] Some illustrations of this extensive synonymy are: parum, pauxillum, pauxillulum, pusillum, aliquid, aliquantulum, tantulum, auditulum, pars, particula, modicum quid, tenuis auditus.

A second meaning is given by St. Gregory to the verbum absconditum, namely, the Word of God, Christ; and this verbum absconditum is declared to the hearts of men when the power of the Unbegotten Son is made manifest to them. We need not linger over this second attribution, since it has no corresponding elaboration in the second hemistich; for the Saint immediately gives a third meaning to the verbum absconditum, as follows: "The hidden word can also be understood as the utterance of an inward breathing,[17] of which John says: 'His unction will teach you concerning all things.'[18] This inspiration given to the mind of man lifts it up, and placing beneath it the thought of temporal things, inflames it with desire of eternal things, so that now it wishes for naught save that which is above, and despises all the lower noises of human interests. To hear the hidden word is, then, to receive in the heart the speaking of the Holy Spirit. And this speaking cannot be known save by him who can have it. Whence it is that the voice of Truth saith concerning this hidden speaking: 'I will ask the Father, and He will give you another Paraclete, that He may remain with you forever, the Spirit of Truth, whom the world cannot receive.'[19] For as this Paraclete after the ascension of the Mediator, this other Comforter of the human race, is invisible in Himself, so doth He inflame with a desire after invisible things every heart that He filleth. And since worldly hearts love only that which can be seen, the world does not receive Him, for that it rises not up to a love of the unseen. For in the proportion that earthly minds spread themselves out in earthly interests, they narrow the core of the heart unto His inspiration. And since there are few indeed who, purged of earthly interests, open their hearts by this purgation for the reception of the Holy Spirit, this word is called hidden, inasmuch as, although undoubtedly received by some in their heart, it is unknown to the greater part of mankind. Or at least this inspiration of the Holy Spirit is a hidden word, because it can be felt, although it cannot be expressed by the noise of speech. Since therefore the divine inspiration[20] lifts up the mind without noise, the hidden word is heard, because the speaking of the Spirit soundeth silently in the ear of the heart."

Here we find the germ of the verse of the Imitation. We must be deaf to the whispering of earthly interests if we may hope to hear the veins of God's whisper. "Blessed are the ears that re-

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[17] Allocutio intimae aspirationis—the speaking to us of an inward aspiration.

[18] I. John ii., 27.

[19] John xiv., 16.

[20] Aspiratio.

ceive the veins of the divine whisper, and take no heed of the whisperings of this world" (Imit., III., i., 1).

St. Gregory has just spoken of the hidden word as sounding silently in the ear of the heart. He forthwith adds: "Therefore we immediately read: 'And as it were by stealth mine ear received the veins of its whisper.' The ear of the heart receives by stealth the veins of the supernal whisper, because the mind which is breathed upon[21] quickly and secretly knows the subtle character of the inspiration.[22] For unless it withdraws itself from external desires, it does not penetrate into those that are internal. It is both hidden that it may hear, and it hears that it may be hidden; for when it withdraws itself from the visible world, it beholds the invisible; and once it is filled with that which is unseen, it despises wholly that which is seen. It is to be noted, however, that he [Eliphaz] does not say: 'As it were by stealth mine ear heard its whisper,' but 'the veins of its whisper.' Assuredly the whisper of the hidden word is this very utterance of the inward speaking.[23] But the veins of the whisper are said to be the instrumentalities[24] by which this very aspiration is brought to the mind. God opens the veins of His whisper, as it were, when He insinuates to us the means by which He comes to the ear of our intelligence. For sometimes He pierces us by love, and sometimes by terror. Sometimes He shows us the nothingness of the present world and directs our desires towards that which is eternal, and sometimes He first makes us think of what is eternal so that what is temporal may grow vile in our sight. Sometimes He makes us aware of our own evil deeds in such fashion that we weep also over the evil deeds of others. And again He exhibits the sins of others to us until, filled with compunction, we turn from our own evil ways. To hear by stealth the veins of the divine whisper is, then, to know in a slight and hidden manner[25] the occult methods of the divine inspiration."

We have a new metaphor, apparently—that of the hidden and slender pathways of the arteries in the human body, through which the blood comes to our members from the central reservoir of the heart. But St. Gregory perceives yet another symbolism in the phrase. God is said to whisper to us, inasmuch as He does not fully reveal Himself to our minds. And all the works of creation are so many veins through which a partial revelation is made to us—of His power, splendor, love and the rest. The Saint therefore continues:

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[21] Afflata mens.

[22] Subtilitatem locutionis intimae.

[23] Est haec ipsa locutio aspirationis intimae.

[24] Causarum origines—the sources or occasions.

[25] Tenuiter et latenter.

"We are permitted to attach still another meaning to the whisper or to the veins of the whisper. He who whispers speaks in a secret manner, and does not so much utter as imitate a sound. So long as we are burdened with the corruption of the flesh, we do not at all see the brightness of the divine power such as it remains unchangeable in itself; for the eyes of our weakness cannot endure that the ray of His eternity should shine upon us with its unbearable splendor. When therefore the omnipotent God shows Himself to us through the chinks of contemplation, He nowise speaks to us, but rather whispers, inasmuch as, although He does not fully manifest Himself to us, He nevertheless does exhibit something of Himself to the human mind. On the other hand, He does not whisper, but rather speaks, when He manifests Himself certainly by revelation. And hence it is that Truth declares in the Gospel: 'I will show you plainly of the Father.'[26] Hence John says: 'We shall see Him as He is.'[27] Hence Paul says: 'Then I shall know even as I am known.'[28] But in this life the divine whisper has as many veins for us as are the created works over which the Divinity presides. For whilst we behold all the things that are created, we are lifted up with admiration of the Creator. For as we seek to increase a slender flow of water by boring through veins for it, and as the flow is more abundant in proportion as the veins are more open, so also, when we studiously gather a knowledge of the Divinity by considering His creature, we open up to ourselves, as it were, the veins of His whisper. For inasmuch as we discern the thing that is done, we admire the power of the doer; and through what we see in the open, that which is hidden comes forth to us. God breaks forth for us into sound, as it were, when He exhibits Himself in the works which we are to investigate, wherein He indicates Himself in some fashion, while at the same time He shows us how incomprehensible He is. Since, however, we are not able worthily to contemplate Him, we hear, not His voice, but scarce even a whisper. Since, then, we are not competent for the full understanding even of created things, it is rightly said: 'As it were by stealth mine ear received the veins of its whisper.' Exiled as we are from the joys of Paradise, and afflicted with the punishment of blindness, we scarce apprehend the veins of His whisper, because only in a slight and fragmentary way do we estimate even His wonderful works."

We have, then, various implications of the veins of a whisper. First of all, the veins are to a whisper as chinks to an open door. Again, the whisper is the internal speaking of God to our hearts, and

[26] John xvi., 25.
[27] I. John iii., 2.
[28] I. Cor. xiii., 12.

the veins are the methods or ways by which the divine message reaches our understanding; for as a "vein" (artery) brings from the reservoir of the heart only a portion of the blood, so does any one of God's methods of obscurely revealing Himself to us constitute, as it were, only a partial means of revelation. But while God thus manifests Himself to us by secret motions of love or terror, of longings for heaven or contempt of earth, of sorrow for sins that we commit or horror of those done by others, He also makes a more general revelation of Himself through the works of His creation—and in this sense the veins are the various works of His creative power.

It would seem proper to infer from all this at least two general ideas suggested by veins. First, they are thin, slender, irregular, like the chinks or cracks in door or fence, and what we see or hear by such means is but partial and uncertain. This, as I have pointed out, conforms well to the ideas of the older amongst modern commentators. Secondly, the veins are channels bringing truth to us, as the arteries of the body bring blood to its members. We shall see this latter idea repeated by subsequent commentators of the middle ages.

WALAFRID STRABO AND ST. ODO OF CLUNY.

In the ninth century, Walafrid Strabo borrows from St. Gregory's Moralia the reference to heretical preaching, but does not deal with the other symbolisms which St. Gregory treats more largely. Walafrid merely says, apropos of our verse: "'Now a word was said to me in secret.' Heretics pretend to hear hidden things, and therefore preach obscurely in order that their preaching may be esteemed as more sacred and not like that of others. 'By stealth mine ear received the veins of its (his) whisper.' For they do not enter by the door with others, but seek the chinks of a perverted interpretation."

In the tenth century, St. Odo of Cluny borrows more liberally, and withal professedly, in his "Epitome Moralium S. Gregorii in Job." Like Walafrid, he applies the verbum absconditum to the pretended revelations made to heretical preachers. Next, the verbum absconditum is, as St. Gregory suggested, the Word of God, the Second Person of the Trinity. But St. Odo devotes most of his brief space to the interpretation of the verbum absconditum as the inspiration or aspiration of the Holy Spirit made to the internal ear of the soul. It may prove interesting to observe his method of condensation: "The hidden word may also be understood as the utterance of inward inspiration.[29] . . . Which interior aspiration

[29] Allocutio intimae aspirationis.

lifts up the mind of man which feels it, and inflames it with internal desires. To hear the hidden word is, then, to receive in the heart the speaking of the Holy Spirit. And this cannot be known save by him who is capable of possessing it. This word is styled hidden, because it is known by some, although unknown to the greater part of mankind. Or at least the inspiration of the Holy Spirit is a hidden word, inasmuch as, while it can be heard, it cannot be expressed by the sound of speech. Therefore he has heard by stealth the veins of the divine whisper, who leaves the door of public preaching and seeks the chinks of a wrong understanding; of whom the Lord saith: 'He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, the same is a thief and a robber.'[30] Typically: The ear of the heart receives by stealth the veins of the supernal whisper, because the mind which is breathed upon knows in a moment and in secret the subtle quality of the inward speaking, inasmuch as, withdrawn from the visible world, it gazes upon the invisible, and thus filled with the unseen, it wholly contemns that which is visible. This utterance of the inward aspiration is the whisper of the occult word. By the veins of the whisper are meant the instrumentalities[31] by which this aspiration is conveyed to the mind. He [God—understood, but not expressed in the context] opens, as it were, a vein [venam—singular number!] of His whisper, when He secretly communicates to us the means by which He comes to the ear of our understanding. (Aliter). He that whispers speaks obscurely, and does not utter, but imitates a sound. When, therefore, the Almighty exhibits Himself to us through the chinks of contemplation, He does not speak to us, but whispers, because He does not fully manifest Himself, although He does communicate some knowledge of Himself to the human mind. On the other hand, He does not whisper, but speaks, when a certain knowledge of Him is given through revelation. Hence the Lord saith: 'I will show you openly of the Father;'[32] and John saith: 'We shall see Him as He is."[33] St. Odo then turns his attention to the following verse.

We shall find Albertus Magnus, in the thirteenth century, restating this view of St. Gregory's and St. Odo's, that the veins of the whisper indicate the instrumentalities (causarum origines) by which God's inspiration reaches the ear of the heart. Not only St. Odo, but Peter of Blois (twelfth century) as well, professes to restate St. Gregory's views. But Peter has nothing to say of our verse. In the twelfth century, St. Bruno, abbot of Monte Cassino,

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[30] John x., 1.
[31] Causarum origines.
[32] John xvi., 25.
[33] John iii., 2.

and Rupert of Deutz follow in general the lead of St. Gregory, but explicate our verse briefly and somewhat differently.

ST. BRUNO AND RUPERT OF DEUTZ.

In his "Expositio in Job," St. Bruno of Monte Cassino understands the "vein" to symbolize the beginning and perfection of the hidden word. This view perhaps accounts for the curiously exceptional interpretation of the "veins" of the verse in the Imitation found in the two translations already noticed in a previous article—the "il principio del parlare spirituali" of one Italian version, the "l'abord de l'inspiration divine" of one French version.[34]

St. Bruno says: "For heretics always promise great things, and in order to give greater authority to their words, extol their own knowledge, as he [Eliphaz] seems to do. For he declares that a hidden and secret word, unknown to other men, had been revealed to him, and that he had received the vein of that word, that is the beginning and perfection of it, as it were by stealth, in an occult and clever manner.[35] And, in order to commend still more his own adeptness, he professes that he received the revelation not in an open manner, but by a whisper." This is the whole comment upon the twelfth verse.

Rupert, abbot of Deutz, says: "'Porro,' that is, in a different manner, 'ad me dictum est verbum absconditum,' that is, holy, profound and not part of the common knowledge of others. 'Et quasi furtive,' that is, not through the door of a common knowledge, 'suscepit auris mea,' that is, my intelligence, 'venas,' that is, the inmost meaning,[36] 'susurri,' that is, of the hidden speaking 'ejus.'" Here we find the veins indicating the inmost meaning, the intimate communication of the message.

Thus are two new meanings, or additional interpretations of the "veins," given by these twelfth century commentators. They have their counterparts in some of the translations of the verse of the Imitation. But now we come to Richard of St. Victor, who furnishes us with an undoubtedly close approximation to the very thought of the Imitation.

RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR.

Much importance should be attached to the interpretation of the "venas susurri ejus" (in the Book of Job) given by Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173), a Canon Regular, in his "Explicatio in Cantica

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[34] Cf. the REVIEW, January, 1917, p. 39 (VII).

[35] Dicit enim verbum absconditum. . . . sibi esse revelatum, ejus verbi venam, id est principium et perfectionem, quasi furtive, latenter et ingeniose ipse suscepit.

[36] Intimum sensum.

Canticorum." He introduces his interpretation curiously enough, for of course he is not commenting upon the Book of Job. Still more curious, however, in view of this casual quotation of our puzzling verse, is the length and minuteness of Richard's exegesis of the passage. To understand easily his point of view, and the close relation it bears to the content and structure of the Third Book of the Imitation, it will be desirable (and not, I trust, fatiguing to the reader) to translate here his whole treatment involving our verse of Job. The more significant portions will be given in Latin in order to call attention to his use of the Vulgate words.

He is commenting on the words of the Canticle of Canticles: "I held him: and I will not let him go, till I bring him into my mother's house, and into the chamber of her that bore me" (in verse 4 of chapter 3). "Our mother," he says, "is the grace of the Spirit, which regenerates us in a spiritual manner. Her house is the human mind, in which the same grace is received. She desires to bring the Beloved into this house, in order that, having found Him, she may remain and dwell with Him. For she wishes to retain the grace which she has received, to transfuse it into her habits, to transform it in her manner of life." Thus Richard, in the sixth chapter of the "Explicatio," discourses on the text. He returns to the subject in the following chapter, which is headed: "In what manner the mind secretly enjoys God and by Him is taught concerning secret things." We shall recall that the first chapter of the Third Book of the Imitation is headed: "Of the inward speaking of Christ to the faithful soul." Richard forthwith begins:

"It is not enough that the spouse should have brought the Beloved into the house of the mind, unless she bring Him also into the chamber, where she may delight in Him more familiarly and secretly, and may be alone with Him, and converse with Him, and having banished all else may share His counsels, may understand hidden things, may learn of hidden causes, and where God may manifest to her the uncertain and hidden things of His wisdom.

"Ibi audire cupit verbum absconditum, id est internam et occultam aspirationem, quae in Job verbum absconditum vocatur (Job iv.), quia paucis conceditur, vel quia silenter aure cordis praecipitur.

There she desires to hear the hidden word, that is the internal and hidden aspiration, which in Job is styled a hidden word (Job iv.), because it is granted to few, or because the ear of the heart receives it silently.

"But this word is said to be heard by night, when deep sleep is wont to hold men,[37] that is when, the desires of the flesh having been trodden under foot, the mind holds itself in quietude. In the silence therefore of the night, when God is secretly with her in the room, when everything is quiet, when peace is felt within from all stirrings

[37] Job iv., 13.

of the vices, and when peace is felt without by the cessation of all occupation and inquietude, when the vices are silent, when the memory of sins disturbs not, when the external senses are shut, and there is no recollection of worldly interests—when, therefore, there is such a great quietude and all is in silence—

tunc jam audiri poterit vox Dei quae non tantum loquitur, sed susurrat, id est tenuiter et occulte aliquid humanae menti manifestat. Nec solum susurrum Dei, sed et venas susurri ejus furtive tunc suscipit anima, quia subtilitatem divinae aspirationis, et causarum origines quibus ad mentem gratia veniat intelligit.

then can be heard the voice of God, which does not speak so much as whisper, that is, shows something to the human mind slightly and hiddenly. The soul receives not alone the whisper of God, but also the veins of the whisper as it were by stealth, because it understands the subtlety of the divine aspiration, and the sources whence grace comes to the mind.

"For God visits us in various ways, now piercing the mind with the desire of divine love, again with the hope and joy of future reward, now with the pleasure of virtue, again with a realization of our own imperfection, now with a recollection of sinfulness and a fear of punishment, or with a manifestation of neglect and danger, again with the memory of something good or the example of some perfect man. By these and other means grace comes to the mind, not always in the same manner, but now in this, and again in that fashion. Just as the gifts and disbursements of the Spirit are different in different men, in such wise that one receives this grace, and another that, so in one and the same man the visitations of the Spirit are diverse. The soul, therefore, with which God silently whispers,[38] knows and discerns these things, conforms itself to the manner in which it is visited, and so directs itself. It knows the discernment and use of grace, its presence and its absence, its coming and going, the reasons why it came, the movements and thoughts, the heralds and forerunners of grace."

Richard then goes on to show the necessity of humility in thought and deed, for that God gives His grace to the humble and resists the proud. "But who," he then continues, "may recognize an old and inveterate pride, its hidden roots, and the subtle cogitations through which it mostly insinuates itself and creeps upon the soul unawares, unless God whispers (that is, reveals it in a hidden manner)?"[39] The proud are like the mountains and hills which God will make arid (Ps. xlii.):

"Istos montes, visitantisque gratiae origines et causas merendi vel demerendi latenter intelligere, est venas divini susurri furtive suscipere. Venae istae silenter et cum levi murmure serpunt, nec audiuntur a mente inquieta, et in

To understand in a hidden manner those mountains and the sources of grace and the causes of meriting or demeriting it, is to receive by stealth the veins of the divine whisper. Those veins creep onward silently, with a gentle murmur, and

[38] Susurrat.

[39] Nisi Deo susurrante (id est occulte revelante) cognoscat?

qua perstrepunt et clamant vitia, vel perturbationes aliquae. Horum itaque intelligentia percipitur, et discitur, in cubiculo (id est mentis secreto) ubi exclusa sunt omnia praeter Deum, ubi sola cum solo anima susurrat, haec est solitudo in quam ducit animam Deus, ut loquatur ad cor ejus. Ibi audire potest quid loquatur in ea Dominus Deus."

are not heard by a disturbed mind, in which the vices, or any perturbations, cry out noisily. This knowledge is received and learned in the chamber (that is, in the secret place of the mind), where all save God is banished, where alone with Him the soul whispers—this is the solitude into which God leads the soul that He may speak to her heart. There can she hear what God the Lord shall speak in her.

Thomas à Kempis opens the Third Book of the Imitation with this verse of the Psalmist: "Audiam quid in me loquatur Dominus Deus" (Ps. lxxxiv., 9): "I will hear what the Lord God will speak in me." And he forthwith continues: "Blessed is the soul that hears the Lord speaking within her, and from His mouth receives the word of comfort. Blessed are the ears that receive the veins of the divine whisper, and take no heed of the whisperings of this world." The connection between the commentary of Richard of St. Victor and the Imitation of Thomas à Kempis would appear to be quite close. Nor will the impression of similarity of thought and even of phrase be the only one which a reader of the seventh chapter of the Explicatio in Cantica Canticorum will take away with him. I think that the little which now remains to quote from that chapter will appear to be a condensed summary of the teaching given by Thomas in the Third Book of the Imitation. Richard continues:

"There it is that He opens for her the inward ears alone, for the ears of the heart lie open. He closes the tumult of worldly affairs and the quiet of secret consideration begins. Then it is that the mind more vigorously penetrates the words of God, when it refuses admission to the bustle of worldly cares. This chamber is a school where she learns in silence, where the arcana of the commandments are taught, where she is instructed in the knowledge of the divine will, in morality, in the distinction of the virtues, in the contemplation of spiritual things. To this chamber should the soul retreat as did Moses to the tabernacle of the covenant, to consult the Lord concerning her doubts, the ordering of the house of her mind, the things she should do there, her own state, the spiritual and corporal needs of others, the love of God, the love and defense of justice, the discretion to be used in the exercise of zeal, the occasions when faults should be overlooked, the gentleness or the rigor that should be shown to delinquents. Daily she here discusses and examines her external duties as well as her own interior state and the character of her meditation—what it chiefly thinks upon and what it should principally concern itself with; what is the character of her speech—well-ordered or unrestrained, humble or proud; also,

whether her activity is strenuous or remiss; and, finally, how she manages her whole house and what things therein should be corrected or permitted. In so far as she attains to purity of conscience and by mortifying her will joins it to that of God, she makes herself one with God, pierces into spiritual things, and understands the will of God. In order, therefore, that she may receive this grace, she rightly desires to bring the Beloved into her chamber, that is, into the secret place of quietude, of meditation, of prayer, where she may be undisturbed by exterior affairs, and by meditation may discern, and by prayer obtain, the things that are of internal value."

Richard of St. Victor was a disciple of the renowned Hugh of St. Victor, the mystic who attained still greater fame and whose views Richard elaborated. I have not been able to discover in the works of Hugh, however, anything touching upon an interpretation of the veins of a whisper. Neither do the sermons of St. Bernard on the Canticle of Canticles appear to contain any reference to it. Richard follows in part the mystical exegesis of St. Gregory's Moralia, but this work was composed professedly upon Job as a text, whereas Richard commented, not on Job, but on the Canticle.

THE BLESSED ALBERTUS MAGNUS.

In the thirteenth century we find the two wonders of the age, the Blessed Albert the Great and St. Thomas Aquinas, commenting on the Book of Job. And it is interesting to notice the large liberty with which the disciple differs from his former master in elucidating our verse. But the recent (1904) publication[40] of Albert's Commentary on Job for the first time in print may lend additional interest to his interpretation of our verse. Besides his work on Job, this "Universal Doctor"—appropriately thus styled because of his encyclopædic learning and his prodigious literary activity—composed commentaries on the Psalms, the Prophets, the Gospels, the Apocalypse. And all this formed but a small portion of his immensely laborious output. His full treatment of our verse cannot well be given here, but there are some points of possible import in our inquiry.

We shall recall that Thomas à Kempis heads the first chapter of the famous Third Book with a quotation from Psalm lxxxiv., verse the ninth: "Audiam quid loquatur in me Dominus Deus" ("I will hear what the Lord God shall speak in me"), and forthwith continues: "Happy is the soul that heareth the Lord speaking within

[40] B. Alberti Magni, O. Praed., Ratisbonensi Episcopi, Commentarii in Job. Additamentum ad opera omnia B. Alberti primum ex V codicibus manuscriptis edidit Melchior Weiss . . . Friburgi Brisgoviae (Herder) MCMIV.

her, and from His mouth receiveth the word of comfort. Happy ears, which receive the veins of the divine whisper." The Blessed Albert had also recalled the verse of the Psalm when treating of the "verbum absconditum," the veins of whose whisper Eliphaz heard. Albert interprets thus (I condense his words): "But [porro] to my intellect and heart there was revealed by word of mouth [per oraculum, 'for a revelation thus made is more certain than one given in a dream'] verbum absconditum." When he comes to the verbum absconditum, he immediately quotes the Psalm: "Audiam quid loquatur in me Dominus Deus." Perhaps this direct association of the psalm-verse with the verse in Job which gave to Thomas à Kempis the puzzling phrase concerning the veins of the divine whisper was a suggestion to the fifteenth century mystic?

Albert further explains that the revealed word was a hidden one, inasmuch as it is not perceived by the common run of men, who rather follow the leading of their senses and their fancies. The "furtive" of the second hemistich is interpreted benignly, inasmuch, argues Albert, as the withdrawal of the pure and simple intellect from the tumults of the senses and the play of the fancy is a good species of theft. Finally, by "auris mea" he understands the interior apprehension of the intellect, or the "interior ear" ("auris interior"). And now we come to the veins of the whisper.

The Universal Doctor considers the "venae susurri" as performing for the intellect a function similar to that which veins perform for the human body. As the latter, he argues, convey nourishment to the fleshly tissues, so the former bring nutriment to the intellect: "He [Eliphaz] calls 'veins' the ways and methods of the revelations, which bring truth for the nourishment of the mind, just as veins bring blood for the nourishment of our bodily members." There is here no implication of the faintness or fragmentariness which modern commentators have interpreted the "venas susurri" to imply. Nor is there any harking back to the idea with which Pineda dubiously credited St. Gregory, of the soft murmur of water flowing through hidden pipes. The Moralia of St. Gregory was nevertheless clearly in the mind of Albert, for in one place he directly quotes therefrom, illustrating the "absconditum" by saying: "Gregorius: 'Locutio intimae aspirationis per speciem latentem in corde sciri non potest, nisi a quo haberi potest.'" We have therefore something quite new in the metaphorical significance of the veins. They are channels which literally carry blood, but figuratively carry truth.

Coming next to St. Thomas, we find that he differs wholly from Albert in his treatment of our verse. Albert appears to think that the revelation was made to Eliphaz (or was so claimed by him)

internally, while Thomas argues that it was made to Eliphaz when fully awake, so that he could hear with the external or physical ear just as he saw the vision with his external or physical eye.

ST. THOMAS AQUINAS.

We come next to the Expositio in Librum Job of the Angelic Doctor. It is needless to say that here, as elsewhere, his reasoning, by way of analysis and development, is so closely interwoven with other Scriptural[41] facts and texts and is withal so gradual in its attainment of conclusions, that a very brief extract would not satisfactorily exhibit his exegesis of this verse of ours.

The Angelic Doctor considers under one heading (Cap. IV., Lect. iii.) the verses from the twelfth (which contains our veins of the whisper) to the twenty-first (the closing verse of the fourth chapter of Job). He points out that Eliphaz, fearing lest the authority and repute enjoyed by Job might rob his own views of their argumentative weight, has recourse to a higher authority, and appeals to a revelation which he has received. In order to illustrate the sublime character of this revelation, Eliphaz calls attention to its obscurity. "For the higher anything is, the less perceptible it is to human sight. And so the Apostle says (II. Cor. xii.) that he was rapt up unto the Paradise of God, 'and heard secret words which it is not granted to man to utter.' After this fashion Eliphaz, whether truly or falsely, says: 'Porro ad me dictum est verbum absconditum' ('Now a word was said to me in secret')." At this point we may quote St. Thomas consecutively:[42]

"We must remember that any truth, however much it is hidden from men by its sublimity, is nevertheless revealed to some persons clearly and to others obscurely. In order to escape the reproach of boastfulness, Eliphaz declares that the truth was revealed to him in an obscure manner, and therefore adds: 'Et quasi furtive suscepit auris mea venas susurri ejus' ('And my ear by stealth as it were received the veins of its whisper').

[41] "Perhaps the most striking of all the Expositions of the Angelical is that on the Book of Job. Here the illustrations and quotations from the Scriptures and the Fathers are met less often than in the other Commentaries. True, St. Paul and Ecclesiasticus now and then shed a gleam across the pages." . . . Thus Archbishop Vaughan, in his "Life and Labors of S. Thomas of Aquin." It is appropriate, therefore, to ask the reader to note, in the following extracts from the Expositio, the quotations from Numbers (chap. xii.), Isaias (chap. vii. and chap. xi.) and Exodus (chap. xxxiii).

[42] The temptation was strong to quote in full even the preliminary treatment, not because the Expositio would to-day meet the needs of a Biblical student, but because the succinct and clear statement of the Saint is a model for literary imitation. With characteristic gentleness and modesty, he refuses to adjudge the dispute as to the character of the "revelation" given to Eliphaz.

"Here we find a threefold method of concealment employed in revelations. The first is, when an intelligible truth is revealed to some person by means of a vision,[43] as we see exemplified in Numbers xii.: 'If there be among you a prophet of the Lord, I will appear to him in a vision, or I will speak to him in a dream. But it is not so with My servant, Moses, who is most faithful in all My house. For I will speak to him mouth to mouth; and plainly, and not by riddles and figures, doth he see God.' Moses, therefore, heard this secret word through the means of a clear voice; but others hear by means of a whisper.

"There is a second method of concealment; for in the vision itself[44] there are sometimes words which expressly contain truth, as in Isaias vii.: 'Behold, a virgin shall conceive'; and sometimes under certain figurative expressions, as in Isaias xi.: 'And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower,' etc. When Isaias heard: 'Behold, a virgin shall conceive,' he received the whisper itself [ipsum susurrum]; and when he heard: 'And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse,' etc., he received the veins of the whisper [percepit venas susurri]. For figurative expressions are as it were certain veins derived by similitude from the truth itself.

"A third method of concealment is that sometimes a person has a frequent and lengthy revelation from God, as is said of Moses in Exodus xxxiii.: 'And the Lord spoke to Moses face to face, as a man is wont to speak to his friend.' Sometimes, however, a person has a sudden and fleeting revelation. It is this sudden kind of revelation which he [Eliphaz] signifies by saying, 'quasi furtive' ('as it were by stealth'); for we hear as it were by stealth those things which come to us hurriedly and as it were fleetingly."

From the Angelic Doctor's argument on the second method of concealment, it would seem that by whisper (susurrus) he understood an obscure revelation which nevertheless contained a literally expressed truth; and that by the veins of its whisper (venas susurri ejus) he understood an obscure revelation which contained a truth figuratively represented. Thus the declaration, "A virgin shall conceive," was literally true, however obscurely appreciable by the Hebrews. The other prophecy: "There shall come forth a rod out of Jesse," was only figuratively true. Does St. Thomas imply here that this prophecy was therefore still less appreciable by the Hebrews? We may perhaps conclude that he considered a vena susurri as something fainter, as it were, than a susurrus, or at least less full and complete in intelligibility. The vein would then be not

[43] Per imaginariam visionem.

[44] In ipsa imaginaria visione.

merely a part or fragment of a whisper, caught by an ear that is unable to hear all of it. Rather would it be a continuously heard sound which is so faint as scarcely to be even a whisper.

Shall we then say that the interpretation thus given by Saint Thomas is rather metaphorical than literal—just as the expositions given in the Moralia of St. Gregory the Great are mystical or moral and not literal? In his Prologue to the Expositio in Job, the Angelic Doctor declares that he purposes to expound the Book of Job according to the literal sense (secundum literalem sensum exponere), and notes that the mysteries of the Book of Job had already been explained with such subtlety and discretion by St. Gregory as to leave nothing to be said further in this direction. That St. Thomas carried out his purpose, in the opinion of his immediate successors, is evidenced by their direct testimony, when they repeat so often the expression "ad litteram." Thus Guillelmus de Tocco, O. P., a Sicilian who was still living in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, and whose life of the Saint is incorporated in the work of the Bollandist Continuators under date of 7 March, remarks (chapter 4 of the Life): "He wrote on Job literally [ad litteram]. This task had not been attempted by any previous Doctor because of the profundity of the literal sense—a depth to which none could attain." This view was also entertained by the English Dominican, Nicholas Trivet, and by the French Dominican, Bernard Guido, both of whom lived in the early part of the fourteenth century. The Benedictine, Peter Roger, who is better known to us as Pope Clement the Sixth, shared this common view. John of Colonna, who belonged to the same age, declared in his eulogy of the Saint that he had written on Job "ad litteram, opus quidem mirabile." Finally St. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, declares: "He wrote on Job literally [ad litteram], a thing which no Doctor had previously attempted to do. For St. Gregory the Great wrote, indeed, a most beautiful exposition, but it was moral rather than literal. Nicolas de Lyre, after St. Thomas, wrote an exposition of Job, but he pilfered much from St. Thomas, whilst also contradicting him at times without reason."[45]

[45] All of these testimonies to the "literal" character of the Expositio I have extracted from the Dissertationes (Diss. I., cap. II.) of the famous Dominican, Bernardus de Rubeis (d. 1775), on the life and writings of St. Thomas. De Rubeis was highly esteemed for his erudition and his critical powers, and is also praised for his elegant Latinity. He does not, however, comment either upon the "literal" character of the Expositio of St. Thomas or on the omission by the Saint of an explanation why St. Jerome should have chosen to express, by the phrase "venas susurri," the thought which Aquinas interprets and elaborates so minutely. The general character of the Dissertationes does not, it is true, call for such comment; but it would have proved helpful to readers of the Expositio.

NICOLAS DE LYRE.

A distinct and separate treatment, how briefly soever it be made, should be accorded to this Nicolas de Lyre,[46] whom St. Antoninus of Florence esteemed but lightly, as the quotation from De Rubeis illustrates. Born about the year 1270, he was almost a contemporary of St. Thomas in exegetical work. He died in 1349,[47] leaving behind him a reputation, which has endured to the present day, as the foremost exegete of the fourteenth century and the father of modern exegesis; and (as one recent writer perhaps too enthusiastically declares) he ranks "among the foremost exegetes of all times". His "Postillae perpetuae in universam Sacram Scripturam", a monumental work, soon became the favorite manual for Biblical students and was the first Biblical commentary to appear in print (Rome, 1472).

He "was well acquainted with Hebrew and Rabbinic traditions; he admitted the fourfold sense of Holy Scripture, viz.: the literal or historical, the mystical or spiritual, the allegorical and the moral or tropological, but clearly gave the preference to the literal sense."[48] "The literal sense"—that is, "the sense which the writer of a sacred book intended proximately and directly to convey through the words he used."[49] Did St. Jerome intend proximately and directly to convey the various senses which thus far we have found given to the phrase "venas susurri ejus?" However much the mediæval exegetes insisted on their intention to give the literal sense, did they really succeed in so doing?

Nicolas de Lyre was a Hebrew scholar. Doubtless, however, he found the word "shemets" a puzzle, just as his predecessors

[46] Sometimes styled Lyranus, from his birthplace of Lyra, now Neuve-Lyre, in Normandy.

[47] Thus, (against the date of 1340 commonly assigned) the "Etudes Franciscaines" for May, 1907, p. 490. The same writer maintains that the Postilla Literalis was undertaken in 1322 (not 1293, as had been previously claimed); and (p. 504) that "the Jewish origin of Nicolas de Lyre should be considered as a pure legend constructed in the fifteenth century to explain the Hebrew learning of this celebrated commentator."

[48] Gigot, General Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, p. 444. He quotes the words of Lyranus (as given by Davidson): "All of them (i. e., the Scriptural senses) presuppose the literal sense as the foundation. As a building declining from the foundation is likely to fall, so the mystic interpretation which deviates from the literal sense, must be reckoned as unbecoming and unsuitable." . . . This was also insisted upon by St. Francis de Sales: "He would not allow an orator to launch at once into the mystical sense of the Word, without a previous exposition of the literal one; also, he would say, we might as well roof a house before we build the foundation. The Word of God should be treated with more reverence and steadiness." Thus the Bishop of Belley, in his "Spirit of St. Francis de Sales" (Eng. tr., New York, 1867, p. 62), with more to the same effect.

[49] Gigot, loc. cit., p. 385.

appear to have found the phrase "venas susurri" obscure. In his customary brief manner, however, he did anticipate the "parum" of the modern commentators. He dismisses the second hemistich of Job iv., 12, as follows: "And as it were by stealth, that is, hiddenly, my ear received the veins of its whisper, because such things are revealed secretly and are not perfectly understood." This is virtually the "little thereof" favored by the Authorized Version of 1611; for the intelligence receives only a little of that which is not perfectly understood.

WALTER HILTON.

Walter Hilton, the fourteenth century mystic, died nearly half a century later than Nicolas de Lyre. Like Richard of St. Victor and Thomas à Kempis, he was a Canon Regular of St. Augustine. While it is not improbable that the "Postillae" of Nicolas was familiar to him, it is clear that the brief exegesis of our verse just given here could not have moulded his thought in respect of the veins of a whisper. In his Scale or Ladder of Perfection he introduces the verse with great casualness, and gives it a highly mystical interpretation.

In the second section of the third book of the Scale, Hilton treats of the light of grace by which the nature of the angels may be spiritually seen, "and how Jesus is God and Man above all creatures, according to that which the soul may see of Him here". The clean soul not only understands the nature of the angels, but acquires "great acquaintance and great fellowship with the blessed spirits. . . . They enlighten the soul graciously; they comfort the soul with sweet words suddenly sounded in a clean heart . . . when the light of grace abundantly shineth in a clean soul. . . . But then with the help of angels the soul yet seeth more; for knowing in a clean soul riseth higher above all this, and that is to behold the blessed nature of Jesus . . . for by knowing of creatures is known the Creator." This is partly the thought of St. Gregory as already indicated here. And the unity in substance and the distinction of Persons in the Blessed Trinity—even these "a clean soul may see in knowing through the same light of grace." Hilton declares that "love and light go both together in a clean soul. There is no love that riseth out of knowing and from special beholding that can sooner touch our Lord than this can. For why? This knowing of Jesus, God and Man, is alone in itself the worthiest and the highest, if it be specially known by the light of grace. And therefore is the fire of flaming love hereof more burning than it is of any creature, corporal or incorporal. And all these gracious knowings of the university of all creatures felt in a soul in a manner

aforesaid, and of our Lord Jesus, the maker and keeper of all this fair university, I call fair words, and sweet speakings of our Lord Jesus to a soul, which He means to make His true Spouse. He showeth His mysteries, proffereth rich gifts out of His treasury, and arrayeth the soul with them full beautifully. She need not thenceforth be ashamed of her fellows, to appear before the face of Jesus, her Spouse."

I think we have approached very near to the thought in the mind of Thomas à Kempis: "Of the inward speaking of Christ to the faithful soul". Such is the legend that heads the first chapter of his Third Book of the Imitation. But at this point in my quotation from Hilton, he forthwith introduces the verse from the Book of Job. "All this lovely dalliance", continues Hilton, "of private conference betwixt Jesus and a soul may be called a hidden word; of the which Scripture saith thus: 'Porro ad me dictum est verbum absconditum,' etc. 'Moreover, to me there was spoken a secret word, and the veins of His whispering mine ear hath perceived.' The inspiration of Jesus is a hidden word, for it is privily hid from all lovers of the world, and shown to His lovers; through which a clean soul perceiveth readily the veins of His whispering, that is, the special showings of His truth; for every gracious knowing of truth felt with inward savour and spiritual delight is a privy whispering of Jesus in the ear of a clean soul. He must have much cleanness and humility and all other virtues, and must be half deaf to the noise of worldly janglings, that will wisely perceive those sweet spiritual whisperings, that is the voice of Jesus."

In the mind of Walter Hilton, the susurrus—the divine whispering—is any "gracious knowing of truth felt with inward savour and spiritual delight"; and the vein of the whisper is a "special" showing of God's truth to a soul. Is not the whole of the Third Book of the Imitation simply a series of such "special" showings of divine truth to the "faithful soul"?

DENYS THE CARTHUSIAN.

Although the commentary of Nicolas de Lyre attained the distinction of soon becoming a handbook for Biblical students of the later middle ages, his exegesis of our verse had no apparent effect on the interpretations of Walter Hilton and Thomas à Kempis. But neither does Denys the Carthusian refer to Nicolas when he treats of the verse in Job.

Denys (born in 1402, died in 1471) was a contemporary of Thomas à Kempis. Although, by a striking coincidence, both died in the same year, Denys, styled "Doctor Ecstaticus", compiled his voluminous commentaries on the Scriptures after the Imitation had

appeared, and accordingly his views on our verse from Job are not referred to here as even a possible source for those of Thomas. But the fact that his exegesis of our verse is practically only a condensed summary of the expositions of St. Gregory, the Blessed Albert, and St. Thomas, makes his work of interest in this connection. For he thus exhibits to us of a later century the mines of Patristic and scholastic lore to which, as we might reasonably suppose, the mystics of the fifteenth century would naturally have recourse. From his "Enarratio in Job" the following may be taken as illustrative of his view: "By 'venas susurri' he [Eliphaz] refers to the ways and means of the revelations, according to Gregory and Albert. . . . And so, in saying 'suscepit auris mae venas susurri ejus', he insinuates that he has received and understood the manner, way or means of this secret speaking and revelation to him, as well as the secret speaking itself, which he calls a whisper; and the very opening of the mouth, the conveying of the uttered word to the ears, the manner of speaking, are a kind of veins of the revelation, instruction or address."

And so Denys leads us, through the Blessed Albert, back to St. Gregory. It is clear that the Moralia powerfully influenced the mind of mediæval commentators. But it seems equally clear that the mystics who were Canons Regular sought at times a still subtler and more mystical sense for our verse of the fourth chapter of Job.

A SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM.

When translators of the Imitation of Christ place a footnote to their highly varied renderings of "venas divini susurri" and merely refer their readers to "Job iv., 12", they give no real help. Protestants will find in Job iv., 12, no reference whatever to veins. English Protestants will have in their Authorized Version merely "a little thereof", and in their Revised Version (1885) merely "a whisper thereof." The careful Dr. Bigg, although a Protestant, seems to have at length realized this fact, and accordingly made his reference more exact by adding the word "Vulgate".

The Vulgate does indeed give the exact words, "venas susurri ejus", but not "venas divini susurri." But the ultimate source of the puzzling expression used by Thomas à Kempis is thus finally traced back to St. Jerome's translation from the Hebrew into Latin. A consultation of the modern commentators on Job will soon convince the faithful seeker after light that Thomas à Kempis did not use the phrase in the same sense as did St. Jerome. But the editors and translators of the Imitation have given the reader no further light than the simple reference to Job. Let the reader make the most of it.

Catholics will find in their Doway Bible and in its revision by Bishop Challoner the exact translation, "the veins of its whisper", but no clear intimation of the meaning of this curious phrase. Moreover, the only English translation of the Imitation which uses the rendition, "the veins of the divine whisper", is that by Challoner; and I have yet to find any edition of Challoner's translation that even refers the readers to "Job iv., 12."

I have thus led my readers through a long and weary journey in search of light on our puzzling phrase. But I think the light has been found at length in the mediæval commentaries upon Job iv., 12. The devout writers were not thinking of the meaning of "shemets" in the Hebrew original, but merely of the "venas susurri" in St. Jerome's rendering thereof. From St. Gregory in the sixth century down to St. John of the Cross[50] in the sixteenth century, we find only mystical, allegorical and moral interpretations of the meaning of Job. St. Thomas of Aquin did indeed profess to make a literal interpretation; but the literalness was directed to each separate word of "venas susurri", and not to its meaning as an indivisible phrase representing the one Hebrew word "shemets." Lyranus was a true literalist; but despite his popularity as an exegete, his commentary on our phrase was so brief that, although it did indeed herald the "parum, pauxillum," etc., of later Hebraists, it appears not to have influenced in any way those mystical writers to whom Thomas à Kempis naturally turned for his Scriptural wisdom.

I think it fair to assume that Thomas à Kempis, an Augustinian Canon of the fifteenth century, was familiar with the writings of Walter Hilton, an Augustinian Canon of the fourteenth century, and with those of Hugh of St. Victor, an Augustinian Canon of the twelfth century. All three were mystics and were celebrated for their spiritual writings. We have seen the strong resemblance between the commentary of Hugh on the Canticle of Canticles and the Third Book of the Imitation by Thomas. But Hugh was diffuse in style, while Thomas was elegantly restrained and concise. The bridge leading over from Hugh to Thomas may well have been the Scale of Walter Hilton, which is more concise in method than that of Hugh, but less so than that of Thomas. In addition to this, however, we have found Walter giving us the antithesis between the sweet voice or whispering of Jesus and the "janglings" of the world—an antithesis so epigrammatically expressed by Thomas in his contrast between the divine susurrus and the profane susurratio.

Long and fatiguing as our journey has been, it will not be deemed other than desirable and profitable by any reader who is familiar

[50] Cf. the REVIEW, April, 1917, pp. 203-204.

with the immense (and sometimes rather fruitless) labors of commentators on the Imitation in their search after sources for the thought or expression of Thomas à Kempis in his "truly golden book" of the Imitation.[51] For, like Shakespeare in respect of human letters, Thomas à Kempis is, in respect of ascetical literature, "not for an age, but for all time." No labor should be deemed too great, if it may hope to shed upon the Imitation one added ray even of literary illumination.

In the view of Walter Hilton—and doubtless also of Thomas à Kempis—the whisperings of God to the soul are general manifestations of Himself. This thought is, indeed, as old as the Moralia of St. Gregory, as we have already seen. But the "veins" of His whispering are "the special" revelations which He makes of His divine will and purpose to each individual soul. These special and most intimate revealings of God to the faithful soul will not be heard amidst the crowd of worldly "janglings" or babblings.[52] The soul must be like an Alp, "retired, apart", whose peak is raised above the clouds into the clear light of heaven.

What, then, is the proper way of translating the phrase of Thomas into English? I have declared my conviction[53] that the only proper rendering is a literal one, and that Bishop Challoner was better advised than all his predecessors and amending followers. The phrase, "venas susurri", is consecrated by a millennium of mystical interpretation that found inspiration in each of its component words. Also, its coinage by St. Jerome has made it forever classical in our official Vulgate and in the translation thereof in the Doway Bible and in Challoner's revision. How could we think for a moment of replacing "venas" by "accents", or "instillings", or any other interpretative word, however enlightening it may be deemed?[54]

Assuming that Challoner's rendering of the "venas divini susurri" should therefore be retained, how best may the reader find enlightenment as to its true meaning? There should, of course, be a note of some kind—whether at the foot of the page or in an appendix of Notes—that would refer both to the verse of the Vulgate and to the Doway translation. This would give the reader the ultimate source of the phrase. Information should then be added concerning the probable meaning of the Hebrew original. Finally, the non-

[51] For illustration, let the reader consult Cruise, "Thomas à Kempis: Notes of a Visit to the Scenes in Which His Life was Spent . . . " (London, 1887). Note C, pp. 312-320. The researches of Dr. Cruise were undoubtedly long and laborious—but are the results very encouraging?

[52] Cf. the REVIEW, April, 1917, pp. 198-201.

[53] Cf. the REVIEW, January, 1917, p. 30.

[54] The interpretations, as we have seen, are fanciful, as a matter of fact.

literal interpretations of the middle ages should be referred to, and the mystical interpretations of Hugh of St. Victor and Walter Hilton should be summarized, since these lead us directly, and doubtless accurately, towards the meaning which Thomas à Kempis intended to convey.

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A SIXTEENTH CENTURY THEOLOGIAN AND THE PRESENT WAR.

IT is no unusual thing now, since the attention of the whole world has been engaged so long by the war in Europe, to hear propounded on all sides such questions as "May Christians make war?" "Have the people any voice in declaring war?" "When are wars just?" "What may be done in a just war and how far may one proceed against enemies?" And while, at first sight, we may think that these questions, which are suggested by the present war, are new, the fact remains that each and every one of them was discussed and answered by a Spanish moral theologian, Franciscus de Victoria, of the Order of Preachers, in his *"De Iure Belli,"* published over three hundred and fifty years ago as the fifth of his *"Relectiones Theologicae XII."* For, to use the words of Thomas Alfred Walker, "In Victoria's treatment of these problems the reader who is unprepared for the surprises of the literature of the Reformation age will be astonished to discover the setting forth of principles which the historian of international practice is wont to represent as entirely modern."

Franciscus de Victoria, born in Spain in 1480, entered the Dominican Order in his early youth, and, after obtaining the highest honors in theology which his order could bestow, finally, in 1526, became the holder of the "primary chair of theology" at the University of Salamanca. Here he lectured for twenty years and obtained universal fame and glory as "the restorer of scholastic theology," because he inaugurated a movement to give to theological science a purer diction and improved literary form and to treat scholastic theology, not in a jejune and uncultivated manner, but in a scholarly and ornate manner, enriching it with every kind of learning, sacred and profane.

The Spanish conquests subsequent to the discovery of the New World by Columbus forced upon the Spanish sovereigns a very momentous question. On the one side, the conquerors wished to justify their seizure of lands and their right to use armed force against the natives, who refused to accept their domination; on the other side, the missionaries accompanying the conquerors wished to secure fair treatment for the Indians. It is at this time (1532) that Victoria delivered his lecture *"De Indis,"* in which he reviews in succession the false and true titles alleged by the conquerors. The frankness with which he rendered judgments without fear or favor of the Catholic sovereigns, who had a very keen interest in

the subject, is well worth noting. He stands out among the Spaniards and Portuguese as the defender of the proposition that infidels cannot be despoiled of civil power or sovereignty simply because they are infidels. He makes his position strikingly clear by declaring that the Spaniards have no more right over the Indians than the latter would have had over the Spaniards if they had come to Spain.

The *"De Indis"* was followed by a second lecture, *"De Iure Belli,"* which was intended to supplement the discussion of the just and unjust titles to the lands of the barbarians by a short discussion on the law of war. And although the author, as he himself states, merely noted the main propositions of this topic together with very brief proofs, an answer may be found here for most questions now disturbing the world.

With regard to the question, "May Christians make war?" Victoria submits all of the reasons now submitted by extreme pacifists or by those who claim that Christianity has failed in its mission, for instance, "Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but give place unto wrath" (Romans xii., 19), and "Whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also" and "I say unto you not to resist evil" (St. Matthew v., 39), and "All they that take the sword shall perish by the sword" (St. Matthew xxvi., 52). Moreover, Luther's argument that "Christians may not take up arms against the Turks, for if the Turks attack Christendom, it is the will of God which may not be resisted," is stated, but, as Victoria notes, "herein, however, he had not as much success as in his other dogmas in imposing on the Germans, who are born soldiers." Tertullian, according to Victoria, inclines to the same opinion, for in his *"De Corona Militis"* (ch. 11) he holds that military service is forbidden to a Christian, for "he may not even go to law."

Having stated the arguments of the negative side in true scholastic style, Victoria solves the question affirmatively, relying in part upon numerous passages of St. Augstine, especially his commentary upon the words of St. John the Baptist to the soldiers (St. Luke iii., 14): "Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely." "But," says St. Augustine, "if Christian doctrine condemned war altogether, those looking for counsels of salvation in the Gospel would be told to throw away their arms and give up soldiering altogether; but what is said to them is, 'Do violence to no man and be content with your wages.'"

Seven other proofs of the lawfulness of war for Christians are given, five of which refer more particularly to offensive war. In

view of the recent charge that Christianity has failed, because Christian nations are engaged in the present war, it may be of interest here to give in full two or three of these proofs. One proof is that, as St. Augustine says, the end *(finis ad quem)* of war is the peace and security of the State. But there can be no security in the State unless enemies are made to desist from wrong by the fear of war. For the situation with regard to war would be glaringly unfair if all that a State could do when enemies attack it unjustly was to ward off the attack and if they could not follow this up by further steps. Another proof comes from the end and good of the whole world. For there would be no condition of happiness for the world, nay, its condition would be one of utter misery, if oppressors and robbers and plunderers could with impunity commit their crimes and oppress the good and innocent, and these latter could not in turn retaliate on them. The last proof offered is one which in morals carries the utmost weight, namely, the authority and example of good and holy men, such as were Constantine the Great and Theodosius the Elder.

In answer to the inquiry, "In whose hands lies the authority to declare and make war?" Victoria lays down the proposition that any one, even a private person, may accept and wage a defensive war, i. e., a war in defense not only of his person, but also of his property and goods. In this connection a doubt arises as to whether one may strike an assailant if escape by flight be possible. After stating the opinions of St. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, to the negative of Panormitanus, who makes a distinction, and of Bartolus to the affirmative, the author declares that the last named opinion is safe and demonstrable.

The foregoing proposition is not true, however, with regard to offensive war, and herein Victoria notes the difference between a private person and a State. Every State has authority to declare and to make war, whether this be defensive or offensive. The reason is because, as Aristotle says in his "Politics" (bk. iii., ch. 1), "a State ought to be sufficient unto itself," which would not be the case if this authority were not allowed to States. In this respect a sovereign prince has the same authority as the State has. St. Augustine was of this opinion, which is strongly supported by reason.

But the difficulty arises as to just precisely what is a State and who can properly be called a sovereign prince. Victoria therefore defines a State as a perfect community, i. e., one which is complete in itself, one which is not a part of another community, but has its own laws and its own council and its own magistrates. Such a

State, then, or the prince thereof, has authority to declare war, and no one else. Hence it follows that other petty rulers and princes, who are not at the head of a perfect State, but are parts of another State, cannot begin to carry on a war. As, however, these matters are for a great part governed by the law of nations or by human law, custom can give power and authority to make war. Therefore, if any State or prince has obtained by ancient custom the right to make war of itself or himself, this authority cannot be gainsaid, even if in other respects the State be not a perfect one. So, also, necessity can confer this license and authority.

A third question is: "What may be a reason and just cause of war?" Victoria answers this by stating and proving what may not be just causes of war. First of all, difference of religion is not a just cause of war; secondly, extension of empire is not a just cause of war; and, thirdly, neither the personal glory of the prince nor any other advantage to him is a just cause of war. There is a single and only just cause for commencing a war, namely, a wrong received. Nevertheless, not every kind and degree of wrong can suffice for commencing war, seeing that the degree of punishmnt ought to be commensurate with the offense (Deut. xxv., 2). Hence it is clear that we may not turn our sword against those who do us no harm, the killing of the innocent being forbidden by natural law. It is interesting to note Victoria's statement that he omits here "any injunctions inconsistent herewith which God has given in special cases, for He is the Lord of life and death and it is within His competence to vary His dispositions."

Many doubts arise from what has just been said. In the first place, is it enough for a just war that the prince believes himself to have a just cause? Victoria answers this by saying that "this belief is not enough." It is essential for a just war that an exceedingly careful examintaion be made of the justice and causes of the war and that the reasons of those who on grounds of equity oppose it be listened to.

Secondly, are subjects bound to examine the cause of a war or may they serve in the war without any careful scrutiny thereof? Concerning this doubt, Victoria first lays down the general proposition that, if a subject is convinced of the injustice of a war, he ought not to serve in it, even on the command of his prince. Hence flows the corollary that subjects whose conscience is against the justice of a war may not engage in it whether they be right or wrong. Senators and petty rulers and in general all who are admitted to the public council or the prince's council ought and are bound to examine into the cause of an unjust war, but other lesser

folk who have no place or audience in the prince's council or in the public council are under no obligation to examine the causes of a war, but may serve in it in reliance on their betters. Nevertheless, the proofs and tokens of the injustice of the war may be such that ignorance would be no excuse even to subjects of this sort who serve in it.

Thirdly, what should be done when the justice of the war is doubtful, i. e., when there are apparent and probable reasons on both sides? As regards the princes themselves, it seems that, if one be in lawful possession, the other may not try to turn him out by war and armed force so long as the doubt remains. If the city or province concerning which the doubt arises has no lawful possessor, as, for instance, if it were open by reason of the death of the lawful lord and there is doubt whether the King of Spain or the King of France be the heir and no certainty in point of law can be attained, it seems that, if one party wants to settle and make a division or compromise as to part of the claim, the other is bound to accept his proposal, even if that other be the stronger and able to seize the whole by armed force; nor would he have a just cause for war. He who is in doubt about his own title is bound, even though he be in peaceable possession, to examine carefully into the cause and give a quiet hearing to the arguments of the other side if thereby he may attain certitude either in favor of himself or the other. After examination of the case, the lawful possessor is not bound to quit possession so long as the doubt reasonably persists, but may lawfully retain it. Therefore, he is not bound to give it up, either the whole or part.

But concerning subjects who are in doubt with regard to the justice of a war, Pope Adrian VI., indeed, says that a subject in such a case may not serve in such a war even at the command of his prince. Victoria, however, in refuting Pope Adrian's opinion says, "There is no doubt that in a defensive war subjects may, even though the matter be doubtful, follow their prince to the war. Nay, they are bound to follow him, and also in an offensive war." It may be of interest to quote Victoria's line of reasoning in his explanation of Pope Adrian's opinion.

"Now Adrian's mistake seems to be in thinking that, if I am in doubt whether this war is just for my prince or whether there be a just cause for this war, it immediately follows that I am in doubt whether or no I ought to go to this war. I admit that I am no wise justified in doing what my conscience doubts about and that, if I am doubtful about the lawfulness of doing any given thing, I sin if I do it. But any doubt of mine about the justice of

this war does not necessarily involve a doubt whether I ought to fight or serve in this war. Nay, it is quite the other way about. For, although I may doubt whether the war is just, yet the next point is that I may lawfully serve in the field at my prince's command. It is precisely the same as with a lictor who has his doubts whether the judge's decree is just. It does not follow therefrom that he doubts whether or no he ought to carry it into execution. He knows that he is bound to carry it into execution."

The fourth doubt is: Can a war be just on both sides? Victoria solves the doubt in the following manner. Apart from ignorance, the case clearly cannot occur. For, if the right and justice of each side be certain, it is unlawful to fight against it, either in offense or defense. But, assuming a demonstrable ignorance either of fact or of law, it may be that on the side where true justice is the war is just of itself, while on the other side the war is just in the sense of being excused from sin by reason of good faith, because invincible ignorance is a complete excuse. At any rate, on the side of the subjects, this may often occur. For, even if we assume that a prince who is carrying on an unjust war knows about its injustice, still subjects may in good faith follow their prince, and in this way the subjects on both sides may be doing what is lawful when they fight.

Hence arises the fifth doubt: Whether one who has in ignorance gone in an unjust war and subsequently is convinced of its injustice is bound to make amends therefor. This may be asked about a prince and about a subject. If the injustice of the war had been within reach of proof by him, he is bound when he learns of its injustice to give back what he has taken away and not yet consumed—that is, to the extent to which he has been enriched. He need not, however, make amends as regards what he has consumed, because the rule of law is that a person who is not in fault ought not to be damnified, just as one who in good faith attended a sumptuous banquet given by a thief, where stolen things were consumed, would be under no obligation to give redress therefor, save perhaps up to the amount that his meal would have cost him at home. In conformity with this, our man is not bound to make good what has been consumed, any more than the other side would be, because his fighting was lawful and in good faith.

On the fourth and last question proposed by Victoria, namely, what kind and degree of stress is lawful in a just war, he lays down and proves several general propositions. First, everything is lawful which the defense of the common weal requires. Secondly, it is permissible to recapt everything that has been lost and any part

of the same. Thirdly, it is lawful to make good out of enemy property the expenses of the war and all damages wrongfully caused by the enemy. Fourthly, not only are the things just named allowable, but a prince may go even further in a just war and do whatever is necessary in order to obtain peace and security from the enemy—for example, destroy an enemy's fortress and even build one on enemy soil, if this be necessary in order to avert a dangerous attack of the enemy. Even when victory has been won and redress obtained, the enemy may be made to give hostages, ships, arms and other things when this is genuinely necessary for keeping the enemy in his duty and preventing him from becoming dangerous again. Fifthly, not only is all this permissible, but even after victory has been won and redress obtained and peace and safety been secured, it is lawful to avenge the wrong received from the enemy and to take measures against him and exact punishment from him for the wrongs he has done, and this not only by the law of nations and the authority of the whole world, but by the natural law also.

On this question also there are many doubts. The first is: Whether it is lawful in war to kill the innocent. It would seem that it is, because we know from the Old Testament that God ordered innocent persons to be slain. (Joshua vi., 21, and I. Kings xv., 8). On the other hand, the deliberate slaughter of the innocent is never lawful in itself. Hence it follows that, even in war with the Turks, it is not allowable to kill children. Nor women of unbelievers also, because, so far as the war is concerned, they are presumed to be innocent. This does not hold, however, in the case of any individual woman who is certainly guilty. Nor is it lawful to kill farmers, nor the rest of the peaceable civilian population, nor foreigners sojourning among the enemy, nor clerics and religious, for all of these in war are presumed to be innocent unless the contrary be shown, as when they engage in actual fighting.

Sometimes, however, it is right, in virtue of collateral circumstances, to slay the innocent even knowingly, as when a fortress or city is stormed in a just war, although it is known that there are a number of innocent people in it and although cannon and other engines of war cannot be discharged or fire applied to buildings without destroying innocent together with guilty. Great attention must be paid to the point already taken, namely, the obligation to see that greater evils do not arise out of the war than the war would avert. For, if little effect upon the ultimate issue of the war is to be expected from the storming of a fortress or fortified town wherein are many innocent folk, it would not be right, for the purpose of assailing a few guilty, to slay the many innocent by

use of fire or engines of war or other means likely to overwhelm indifferently both innocent and guilty. In sum, it is never right to slay the guiltless, even as an indirect and unintended result, except when there is no other means of carrying on the operations of a just war.

A second doubtful point is: Whether in a just war it is lawful to despoil innocent enemy-subjects. Now it is certainly lawful to despoil the innocent of goods and things which the enemy would use against us, such as arms, ships and engines of war. It is also lawful to take the money of the innocent and to burn and destroy their grain and kill their horses, if this is requisite in order to sap the enemy's strength. Hence follows the corollary that, if the war goes on for an indefinitely long time, it is lawful utterly to despoil all enemy-subjects, guilty and guiltless alike, for it is from their resources that the enemy is feeding an unjust war, and, on the other hand, his strength is sapped by this spoliation of his citizens. However, if a war can be carried on effectively enough without the spoliation of the agricultural population and other innocent folk, they ought not to be despoiled. But the spoliation of foreigners and travelers on enemy soil, unless they are obviously at fault, is in no wise lawful, they not being enemies. If the enemy refuse to restore things wrongfully seized by them and the injured party cannot otherwise properly recoup himself, he may do so wherever satisfaction is obtainable, whether from guilty or from innocent. There is accordingly no inherent injustice in the letters of marque and reprisals which princes often issue in such cases. These letters, however, are hazardous and open the way to plunder.

The next doubtful point proposed by Victoria is: Assuming the unlawfulness of the slaughter of children and other innocent parties, is it permissible, at any rate, to carry them off into captivity and slavery? This can be cleared up by saying that it is just as permissible to carry the innocent off into captivity as to despoil them, liberty and slavery being included among the good things of fortune. Consequently, when a war is at that pass that the indiscriminate spoliation of all enemy-subjects alike and the seizure of all their goods are justifiable, then it is also justifiable to carry all enemy-subjects off into captivity, whether they be guilty or guiltless. But inasmuch as, by the law of nations, it is a received rule of Christendom that Christians do not become slaves in right of war, this enslaving is not lawful in a war between Christians. Nevertheless, if it is necessary for attaining the end of war, it would be lawful to carry away even innocent captives, such as children and women, not indeed into slavery, but so that we may receive a

money-ransom for them. This, however, must not be pushed beyond what the necessity of the war may demand and what the custom of lawful belligerents has allowed.

The question may also arise as to whether it is lawful at any rate to kill hostages, who have been taken from the enemy either in time of truce or on the conclusion of a war, if the enemy break faith and do not abide by their undertakings. The solution of this doubt is as follows: If the hostages are in other respects among the guilty, as, for instance, because they have borne arms, they may rightfully be killed in that case; if, however, they are innocent, as, for instance, if they be children or women or other innocent folk, it is obvious from what has been said above that they cannot be killed.

Before solving the next question, namely, whether in a just war it is lawful to kill, at any rate, all the guilty, it should be noted that, as is shown by what has been said above, war is waged, firstly, in defense of ourselves and what belongs to us; secondly, to recover things taken from us; thirdly, to avenge a wrong suffered by us, and, fourthly, to obtain peace and security. With these premises, it may be asserted that in the actual heat of battle, either in the storming or in the defense of a city, all who resist may be killed indiscriminately, and, briefly, this is so, as long as affairs are in peril. Even when victory has been won and no danger remains, it is lawful to kill the guilty. However, merely by way of avenging a wrong it is not *always* lawful to kill all the guilty, but sometimes it is lawful and expedient to kill all the guilty. The measure of the punishment must be proportionate to the offense and vengeance ought to go no further.

Herein account must be taken of the consideration that subjects are not bound, and ought not to scrutinize the causes of a war, but can follow their prince to it in reliance on his authority and on public counsels. Hence in the majority of cases, although the war be unjust on the other side, yet the troops engaged in it and who defend or attack cities are innocent on both sides. Therefore, after their defeat, when no further danger is present, they may not be killed, not only not all of them, but not even one of them, if the presumption is that they entered on the strife in good faith. Many of the rules of war have, however, been fashioned by the law of nations, and it seems to be received in the use and custom of war that captives, after victory has been won (unless perchance they have been routed) and all danger is over, are not to be killed, and the law of nations must be respected, as is the wont among good people. With regard to those who have surrendered there is

no such custom; on the contrary, on the capitulation of a fortress or city it is usual for those who surrender to try and provide for themselves in the conditions of the capitulation, as that their heads shall be safe and that they shall be let go in safety; that is, they fear that an unconditional surrender would mean their deaths. So much with regard to persons.

Every *thing* captured in a just war vests in the seizor up to the amount which provides satisfaction for the things that have been wrongfully seized and which covers expenses also. But apart from all consideration both of restitution and satisfaction and looking at the matter from the standpoint of the law of war, we must distinguish according as the things captured in war are movables (like money, garments, silver and gold) or immovables (like lands, cities and fortresses). All movables vest in the seizor by the law of nations, even if in amount they exceed what will compensate for damages sustained.

In this connection there may arise a doubt as to whether it is right to give a city up to the soldiery to sack. This is not unlawful in itself if necessary for the conduct of the war or as a deterrent to the enemy or as a spur to the courage of the troops. Nevertheless, inasmuch as such authorization to sack results in many horrors and cruelties, enacted beyond all humane limits by a barbarous soldiery, such as slaughter and torture of the innocent, rape of virgins, dishonor of matrons and looting of temples, it is undoubtedly unjust in the extreme to deliver up a city, especially a Christian city, to be sacked without the greatest necessity and weightiest reason. If, however, the necessities of war require it, it is not unlawful, even if it be likely that the troops will perpetrate foul misdeeds of this kind, which their generals are none the less bound to forbid and, as far as they can, to prevent. Despite all this, soldiers may not, without the authority of their prince or general, go looting or burning, because they are themselves not judges, but executive officers, and those who do otherwise are bound to make restitution.

Now, with regard to immovable property and things, the difficulty is greater. There is no doubt about the lawfulness of seizing and holding the land and fortresses and towns of the enemy, so far as is necessary to obtain compensation for the damages he has caused. Moreover, in order to obtain security and avoid danger from our enemy, it is lawful to seize and hold a fortress or city belonging to him which is necessary for our defense or for taking away from him an opportunity of hurting us. It is also lawful, in return for a wrong received and by way of punishment, that is, in

revenge, to mulct the enemy of a part of his territory in proportion to the character of the wrong, or even on this ground to seize a fortress or town. This, however, must be done within due limits and not as utterly far as our strength and armed force enable us to go in seizing and storming. And, if necessity and the management of war require the seizure of the larger part of the enemy's land and the capture of numerous cities, they ought to be restored when the strife is adjusted and the war is over, only so much being retained as is just, in way of compensation for damages caused and expenses incurred and of vengeance for wrongs done and with due regard for equity and humanity, seeing that punishment ought to be commensurate with the offense. Now, the lawfulness of seizing on this score either a part of the enemy territory or an enemy city is proved by natural reason and is supported by the authority of the Old and New Testaments and by the authority of learned and holy men, such as St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome and St. Thomas. Also, it is undoubtedly lawful to impose a tribute on conquered enemies, not only to recoup damages, but also as a punishment and by way of revenge.

The last question proposed by Victoria is: Whether it is lawful to depose the princes of the enemy and appoint new ones or keep the princedom for oneself? He replies that this is not unqualifiedly permissible, nor for any and every cause of just war. For punishment should not exceed the degree and nature of the offense. Nay, punishments should be awarded restrictively and rewards extensively. This is not a rule of human law only, but also of natural and divine law. But it is undeniable that there may sometimes arise sufficient and lawful causes for effecting a change of princes or for seizing a sovereignty. This may be either because of the number and aggravated nature of the damages and wrongs which have been wrought or, especially, because security and peace cannot otherwise be had of the enemy and grave danger from them would threaten the State if this were not done. The same holds good of a province and the prince of a province if proportionately graver cause arise.

It must be noted, however, that sometimes, nay, frequently, not only subjects, but princes, too, who in reality have no just cause of war may nevertheless be waging war in good faith, with such good faith indeed as to free them from blame—as, for instance, if the war is made after a careful examination and in accordance with the opinion of learned and upright men. And since no one who has not committed a fault should be punished, in that case, although the victor may recoup himself for things that have been taken from him and for any expenses of the war, yet, just as it is unlawful to

go on killing after victory in the war has been won, so the victor ought not to make seizures or exactions in temporal matters beyond the limits of just satisfaction, seeing that anything beyond these limits could only be justified as a punishment, such as could not be visited on the innocent.

All that Victoria has said about the law of war can be summarized in the three canons or rules of warfare with which he brings his *"De Iure Belli"* to a close. They have reference to the conduct of nations and their princes before war, during war and after war. The first of these canons is: Assuming that a prince has authority to make war, he should fire of all not go seeking occasions and causes of war, but should, if possible, live in peace with all men, as St. Paul enjoins on us (Romans xii., 18). Moreover, he should reflect that others are his neighbors, whom we are bound to love as ourselves, and that we all have one common Lord, before whose tribunal we shall have to render our account. For it is the extreme of savagery to seek for and rejoice in grounds for killing and destroying men whom God has created and for whom Christ died. But only under compulsion and reluctantly should he come to the necessity of war.

The second canon is: When war for a just cause has broken out, it must not be waged so as to ruin the people against whom it is directed, but only so as to obtain one's rights and the defense of one's country and in order that from that war peace and security may in time result.

The third canon is: When victory has been won and the war is over, the victory should be utilized with moderation and Christian humility, and the victor ought to deem that he is sitting as judge between two States, the one which has been wronged and the one which has done the wrong, so that it will be as judge and not as accuser that he will deliver the judgment whereby the injured State can obtain satisfaction, and this, so far as possible, should involve the offending State in the least degree of calamity and misfortune, the offending individuals being chastised within lawful limits. An especial reason for this is that in general among Christians all the fault is to be laid at the door of their princes, for subjects when fighting for their princes act in good faith and it is thoroughly unjust, in the words of the poet Horace, that

"Quidquid delirant reges, plectantur Achivi."

It is difficult to imagine how more prudent or more equitable rules could be formulated than the noble Christian principles which summarize Victoria's doctrine on the law of war. So well adapted

for application to modern condition are they that one can scarcely believe that they are over three and a half centuries old. If the rulers of the European countries now at war and in fact all other rulers would thoroughly learn and practice these true principles, it would be difficult indeed for wars to come and they certainly could not long endure. That our own beloved country did not become embroiled in the present strife until now is due to the fact our President followed Victoria's precepts of "not seeking occasions and causes of war, but trying, if possible, to live in peace with all men." And now that we have entered into the war, we may be sure that it was "only under compulsion and reluctantly" that our President has "come to the necessity of war."

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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN MANITOBA.

IN the summer of 1914 the writer of this paper visited for the first time the historic city of St. Boniface, Manitoba, the mother see of the Catholic Church in the Canadian Northwest. The late Archbishop Langevin was then living, and he extended a welcome with that warmth of heart so characteristic of this great, zealous and militant prelate. This visit to the third Bishop and second Archbishop of St. Boniface in the summer of 1914 suggested the writing of this paper—nay, inspired the writer with the idea of some day preparing an article on the beginnings and development of the Catholic Church in Manitoba.

It is indeed both a happy and fruitful theme. What could be more glorious than the drama enacted in those twilight days of Canadian civilization upon the banks of the Red River and Saskatchewan by these pioneer priests of the Cross? Their footprints remain still to tell where faith triumphed over every obstacle. It was truly the heroism of the Cross, such as informs the story of our holy faith from the very days of the Apostles, when, with gift of tongues, they set out to fulfill the mission entrusted to them by our Divine Lord.

What, then, were the beginnings of the Catholic Church in the Canadian Northwest? As the learned Oblate Father, Rev. A. G. Morice, author of "A History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada," tells us in his chapter contributed to "Canada and Its Provinces,"[1] "The Catholic Church as the pioneer in missionary work between Lake Superior and the Pacific coast of Canada had as a matter of course to give the first fruits of her zeal to the aboriginal inhabitants throughout this vast region." And, of course, it was from Quebec that the first missionaries in the Canadian Northwest came. Let us not forget to-day, then, we Canadian Catholics who are sitting under our own vine and fig tree in spiritual and temporal comfort, what the Catholic Church in the Canadian Northwest—nay, more, what Western Canadian civilization owes to the French Catholic missionary. As D'Arcy McGee once said: "Before the axe of the pioneer had caught a ray of western sunshine the French Catholic missionary, armed with the breviary and the Cross, had found his way into the camp of the Indian on our Western plains and had poured upon his head the waters of regeneration."

From Fort William, at the head of Lake Superior, first known as Kaministikwia, to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, there roamed the various tribes of Indians whose descendants to-day are found

[1] Rev. A. G. Morice, "Roman Catholic Church in the West"—"Canada and Its Provinces." Vol. II., p. 115.

in the Indian reserves. set aside for these aborigines by the Canadian Government.

We are told that the first representative of the white race to come in contact with these Indian tribes in the Canadian Northwest were two Frenchmen, Pierre Esprit Radisson and Médard Chouart Sieur des Groseilliers, who visited the Cree Indians in 1659. It was not, however, till 1731, when Lavérendyre left Montreal at the head of fifty men for the unknown West, that Father Charles Mesaiger, a Jesuit priest, having joined the expedition, spent two years as a missionary among the Indians of Rainy Lake and Lake of the Woods. Father Mesaiger, returning East in 1733 because of ill health, was succeeded by Father Aulneau, also a Jesuit. Father Aulneau's successor in the West was Rev. Claude G. Cocquart, S. J., who was the first minister of religion to reach the site of the present city of Winnipeg.

For a number of years following the cession of Canada to Great Britain there was a complete lull in the work of the Catholic missionary in the Canadian Northwest. Yet the seeds of faith sown by the French missionary among the various tribes of Indians did not lie dormant in the soil. During the interval from the fall of Quebec in 1759 to the beginning of the nineteenth century the French fur traders in the Canadian Northwest threw in their lot in many instances with the aborigines and founded that wonderful race of French half-breeds who were destined to play so important a part in the history of the Canadian Northwest. This very intermarriage of the French with the Indian helped to preserve the traditions of religion and civilization which had been implanted by the first missionaries and explorers and prepared the soil for the more permanent work which was later on to follow.

It may be well to note here that at this time there were two rival corporations in the Canadian Northwest: the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company. The latter was almost entirely made up of French, and therefore Catholics. Between these two rival companies there were strained relations which led to serious quarrels and finally to the tragic affair of Seven Oaks.

It was then that Captain Miles Macdonnell, a Catholic and a member of the Hudson's Bay Company, sent, on April 4, 1816, the following letter to Bishop Plessis, of Quebec:

"You know, Monseigneur, that there can be no stability in the government of States or kingdoms unless religion is made the corner-stone. The leading motive of my first undertaking the management of that arduous though laudable enterprise, was to have made the Catholic religion the prevailing faith of the establishment, should Divine Providence think me a worthy instrument to forward the

design. The Earl of Selkirk's liberal mind readily acquiesced in bringing out along with me the first year a priest from Ireland. Your Lordship already knows the unfortunate result of that first attempt."

Acting upon this representation of the needs of a Catholic priest to bring peace and concord to the disturbed land as well as to look after the faith of the Catholic people in the Canadian Northwest, the Bishop of Quebec resolved to establish a permanent post as a spiritual centre in the Canadian Northwest, and appointed for the delicate task of its foundation Rev. Joseph Norbert Provencher. The appointment of Father Provencher marks a new epoch in the Catholic Church on the banks of the Red River and Saskatchewan. Father Morice, the historian of the Catholic Church in the Canadian Northwest, thus describes Father Provencher's reception at Fort Douglas, the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company, on July 16, 1818: "Father Provencher was accompanied by a younger priest, Father Dumoulin, and an ecclesiastical student.[2] The missionaries were enthusiastically welcomed. Immediately on their arrival they began their appointed work. If ever a field was barren and crying for the labors of the husbandman it was that of the Red River settlement."

Father Provencher immediately set to work to erect his humble dwelling opposite Fort Douglas, not far from a small stream which was beginning to be known as German Creek, from the nationality of the soldier colonists whom Lord Selkirk had left there a year before. Father Provencher called the spot where he located St. Boniface, after the patron saint of their fatherland. When Father Provencher and Father Dumoulin arrived in the Canadian Northwest they found conditions, religious and moral, far from favorable. Men left to themselves without the aid of religion will fall—nay, fall, and, as the poet Tennyson says, "blind their souls with clay."

Writing from Fort Douglas, a few months after his arrival, Father Provencher strikes off the moral condition that obtained among the aborigines and white settlers in these words:

"It can be said without hesitation that the commerce of the Indians with the whites, instead of advancing them towards civilization, has served only to drive them away therefrom, because the whites have spoiled their morals by the strong drink of which the natives are extraordinarily fond, and they have taught them debauchery by their bad example. Most of the employes have children by women whom they afterwards send away to the first newcomer. All the clerks and *bourgeois* likewise have squaws,

[2] Father Morice's "The Roman Catholic Church West of the Great Lakes," page 122.

and what is worse, no more care is taken of the children born of these so-called marriages than if they had no souls."

But if Father Provencher was zealous for the advancement of religion, he was no less zealous on behalf of education. He established at St. Boniface a school wherein boys could obtain a good classical education. This was virtually the beginning of the present flourishing College of St. Boniface.

Meantime Father Provencher, in the spring of 1822, went to Quebec to report on the state of things in his distant mission. Bishop Plessis saw the need of having a Bishop in this distant mission field, and Father Provencher was consecrated with the title of Bishop of Juliopolis *in partibus infidelium* and coadjutor to the Bishop of Quebec for the Northwest.

On Bishop Provencher's return to St. Boniface a task of considerable magnitude confronted him—the building of a new Cathedral, which was to replace the oak building now too small for the needs of his growing congregation. It was not, however, till June, 1833, more than ten years after his consecration, that he was able to lay the foundation of the new edifice. The Cathedral was built of stone gathered along the banks of the Red River. The new temple became the pride of the settlement. The poet Whittier has immortalized it in his poem, "The Red River Voyageur," where, referring to the bells of St. Boniface, he writes:

"The voyageur smiles as he listens
To the sound that grows apace;
Well he knows the vesper ringing
Of the bells of St. Boniface.

"The bells of the Roman mission
That call from their turrets twain
To the boatman on the river,
To the hunter on the plain."

It may be well to remark here that the work of Christianizing the Indians in the Red River country was somewhat spasmodic. The missionaries were too few, and sometimes after three or four years, disheartened, they would return to Quebec. Two of the most successful missionaries were Father Belcourt and Father Darveau. In truth, Father Belcourt was the first priest to give himself up entirely to the evangelization of the Indian.

A double event of deep significance to the welfare and advancement of the Catholic Church in the Canadian Northwest was the advent in the mission field of the Oblate Fathers of Mary Immaculate and the Sisters of Charity, known as the Grey Nuns. The

Oblates of Mary Immaculate was a congregation founded by Monsignor Mazenod, Bishop of Marseilles, in 1816, at Aix, in Southern France, and the Grey Nuns owed their foundation to Madame D'Youville, who was a sister of Lavérendrye's nephew and lieutenant in his Western explorations.

The little band of Sisters who arrived at St. Boniface in the spring of 1844 consisted of four, with Mother Valade as their superior. As the advance guard of the Oblate Fathers who were destined to turn in after years a wilderness of savagery and paganism into a spiritual garden, Father Pierre Aubert, O. M. I., accompanied by a youthful-looking novice, Brother Alexandre A. Taché, was the first Oblate to reach St. Boniface, in August, 1854. The youthful-looking novice was elevated to the priesthood by Bishop Provencher on October 22, 1845.

The population of the Red River settlement at this time was 5,143. Of these, 2,798 were Catholics and 2,345 Protestants. There were 870 families, of whom 571 were half-breeds or Indians, 152 French-Canadians, 61 Orkneymen, 49 Scotchmen and 22 Englishmen.

Referring to the work of the Congregation of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate at this time in the Red River country, Father Morice writes in his "History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada:"[3] "The Congregation of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate had loyally accepted the laborious Indian missions of Provencher. In spite of her own limited personnel she sent him three more subjects in 1846. The first was a man of great experience and administrative ability, Rev. Father Francois Xavier Bermond, who reached St. Boniface on September 5. Two months later, Brother Henri Faraud, a scholastic who had so far received only ecclesiastical tonsure, but was to serve a glorious career in the far North, arrived (November 9) with a lay Brother, Louis Dubé, the first of that legion of humble co-workers, invaluable aids of the missionaries who have done so much to make their labors possible. By the end of 1846, hardly fifteen months after the arrival of the first Oblates, Provencher had therefore the consolation of counting in his territory no less than seven priests, one scholastic who was shortly to be ordained and one lay Brother. Times were evidently changing for the better."

It will be remembered that Bishop Provencher, who had been consecrated Bishop of Juliopolis *in partibus infidelium* in the spring of 1822, became Vicar-Apostolic of the Northwest in 1844, and three years later was made a titular Bishop. With the advance of years—the Bishop was now sixty—he thought of getting a coadjutor.

[3] Father Morice in "Catholic Church in Western Canada," p. 203.

Bishop Provencher saw the wisdom of selecting as his coadjutor the young Oblate, Father Taché, knowing well that his order would not leave his young coadjutor unaided.

On June 7, 1853, the first Catholic Bishop of the Red River country passed to his reward in the forty-second year of his priesthood and the thirty-first of his episcopal reign. Referring to the death of this great and zealous missionary Bishop, the historian of the Catholic Church in the Canadian Northwest, Rev. A. G. Morice, writes:[4] "Bishop Provencher died within sight of his Cathedral on June 7, 1853, carrying to the grave the esteem and regrets of both sections of the population. He had been a true father and a faithful pastor to the Catholics and a public spirited man and prudent legislator." When Bishop Provencher died his successor, Bishop Taché, was barely thirty years of age, and his see, St. Boniface, was but a small village, though as a parish it numbered some 1,100 souls. His little army of priests consisted of four seculars and seven Oblates. In August, 1854, Bishop Taché added another Oblate to the seven already in the mission field in the person of Rev. Vital J. Grandin, O. M. I., who later on was to become a greater figure in the annals of the Canadian Northwest. It was about this time also that Father Lacombe, the great Indian missionary, who died but a few months ago, became an Oblate.

Bishop Taché, feeling that his diocese was becoming much too large for any one man to administer, obtained from Rome a coadjutor in the person of Rev. V. J. Grandin, O. M. I., who was appointed Bishop of Satala *in partibus infidelium,* and was consecrated at Marseilles, in November, 1859.

It was about this time that Bishop Taché was tried by one of the greatest misfortunes that could befall the Catholic missions in Western Canada—the destruction by fire of his residence and all he possessed, as well as his magnificent Cathedral, with its famous bells, of which, as we have said, the poet Whittier sang.

We now approach a trying period in the history of the Canadian Northwest. We will let Father Morice explain the veritable condition of things in the Canadian Northwest at the time the "Red River Troubles" arose in 1869. Father Morice writes: "In 1869 the Red River population was 11,500, sharply divided into two sections—French or Catholic and English, generally Protestant, the former slightly preponderating in numbers. The people were most half-breeds, and owing to their close relationship through their mothers lived in the greatest harmony under the patriarchal rule of the Hudson's Bay Company, now divested of all monopolistic

[4] Rev. A. G. Morice, O. M. I., in "Roman Catholic Church in the West"—"Canada and Its Provinces." Vol. II., p. 137.

pretensions. But the newly created Dominion of Canada coveted their country, and it will ever be a matter of regret that it did not take the proper means to acquire it. Politically speaking, Canada and Assiniboia were then on exactly the same footing. Both were colonies of the British Empire. Desirous of extending its frontier westward, the former colony sent men into the latter to prepare the way to make a trunk road through Assiniboia and to survey the whole country in anticipation of a large influx of settlers from the East. Meanwhile negotiations were being actively carried on, and ultimately an agreement was made whereby the Hudson's Bay authorities in London were to relinquish their chartered rights to the Western plains to the new Dominion for a consideration of £300,000, whether the people of Assiniboia were willing or not and without any guarantee of their fair treatment by the Dominion authorities. These proceedings were naturally resented. William McTavish, the Governor of Assiniboia, protested against the construction of the road as an intrusion by a sister colony which had as yet no right to his territory, and the people made ready to protect themselves against the encroachment of the surveyors from the East, whose actions were calculated to wound the susceptibilities even of the most patient community. Disregarding the long acquired rights of the French Metis or half-breeds, the surveyors set out 'to divide and subdivide the land into sections as they saw fit.' Then they staked out for themselves and their friends in Ontario what they pleased of the best lands, and their leader, Colonel John S. Dennis, appropriated enough 'to make him one of the largest land proprietors in the Dominion,' had he been allowed to take possession. Finally, it began to look as if no man's property were safe, and as the Secretary of the Council of Assiniboia remarked on oath, 'it was generally believed . . . that the whole country would be appropriated by the newcomers.'"[5]

Mention is made in this paper of these political troubles because of the part which Bishop Taché took in endeavoring to allay them. Bishop Taché hurried to Ottawa about the middle of July, 1869, to advise the Canadian Government as to the real condition of affairs in the Northwest. But the authorities at Ottawa, as Dom Benoit tells us in his "Life of Monsignor Taché,"[6] took no account of either Bishop Taché's fears or counsels, even failing to extend to the Bishop the most elementary courtesy, Sir George E. Cartier going so far as to say to him: "I am much better informed on this subject than you can be, and I have no need of further information."

[5] Rev. A. G. Morice, O. M. I., in "Canada and Its Provinces." Vol. II., p. 150.

[6] "La Vie de Mgr. Taché," p. 12.

The crux of the trouble in this uprising of the people in Assiniboia against the course pursued by the Canadian Government was that these first sons of the soil were given no guarantee that their rights as colonists would be respected. The "Canadian Party," largely from Ontario, seemed bent on enriching themselves at the expense of the half-breeds.

Furthermore, the organization of a Provisional Government, at the head of which was Louis Riel, had met with the approval of both the English and French settlers. In truth, the Provisional Government was necessary for the maintenance of law and order until such time as the transference of the country to Canada had been fully effected. It seemed to every settler that he was going to be dispossessed of his land, and the Canadian Government did little to allay this fear. When the threatened uprising in the Canadian Northwest had reached its acute stage, Monsignor Taché was at Rome attending the Vatican Council. The Canadian Government knew full well how valuable would be the presence of this wise and zealous prelate in the disturbed country, and immediately begged of Monsignor Taché that he would return home from Rome. Monsignor Taché replied by telegraph to the Government at Ottawa "that at their request he would start immediately for home."

When Bishop Taché reached the Canadian capital he had a private audience with the Governor General and interviews with the Premier, Sir John A. Macdonald, and Sir George E. Cartier. They assured the Bishop that all the Metis of Red River had to do was to make known their desires by delegates and everything would be done by the Government to satisfy them.

Soon Monsignor Taché reached his diocese, and his presence did much to restore peace among the people of the disturbed Northwest. On February 12, 1870, the President of the Provisional Government, Louis Riel, chose the three delegates who were to go to Ottawa to present the bill of rights drawn up and negotiate for the entrance of the country into confederation. These delegates were Father Ritchot, Alfred Scott, an English-American, and John Black, an Englishman.

As a proof that the inhabitants of the Canadian Northwest had a grievance which fully justified the uprising, we have but to quote here a paragraph from a document sent by the Secretary of State for Canada, Hon. Joseph Howe, to be communicated to the people of the Northwest through the medium of Monsignor Taché. This paragraph reads as follows:[7] "It is important that you should know that the proceedings by which the lives and properties of the

[7] Father Morice's "History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada." Vol. II., p. 55.

people of Rupert's Land were jeopardized for a time were at once disavowed and condemned by the Government of the Dominion, as you will readily discover in the dispatch addressed by me to Mr. McDougall on December 24."

On September 22, 1871, St. Boniface became a metropolitan see, with three suffragans, namely, the newly created See of St. Albert (Monsignor Grandin), the Vicars Apostolic of Athabaska-Mackenzie (Monsignor Faraud) and of British Columbia (Monsignor Herbomez). All the dignitaries of these ecclesiastical divisions were Oblates.

On June 24, 1872, Archbishop Taché was invested with the pallium by Vicar General Thibault, specially delegated for the circumstance. In 1875 was celebrated the silver jubilee of Monsignor Taché's consecration as a Bishop. Archbishop Taché, like his predecessor, Bishop Provencher, was a most zealous promoter of education. In 1877, with Monsignor Taché's approval, St. Boniface College became, through affiliation, a component part of the University of Manitoba, together with the colleges of St. John and Manitoba, representing respectively the Anglican and Presbyterian interests.

Soon the Canadian Northwest was to find itself in the throes of another rebellion—this time on the banks of the Saskatchewan. This paragraph from Father Morice's contribution to "Canada and Its Provinces" will throw light on the cause and conditions which led to the Canadian rebellion of 1885. Father Morice writes:[8] "The immigration which we have repeatedly mentioned was to have far-reaching effects on the population already settled on the Western plains. In order to get rid of the intolerable oppression they suffered at the hands of the newcomers from the East, oppression to which we have seen no less a personage than Governor Archibald testifying, quite a number of the French half-breeds had left Manitoba for the valley of the Saskatchewan, where they had taken up land on both sides of the two branches of that river—narrow but very long strips like those they had left along the Red River and the Assiniboine. In that secluded region the Metis had formed peaceful communities and lived a life which all the old missionaries agree in describing as truly patriarchal in manners and customs. They were hospitable, generous and kind among themselves, respectful and obedient to the priests who visited them. In short, they had a sort of Utopia realized. But this beautiful dream was to end in a terrible nightmare."

The wave of hated white immigration had now reached the banks

[8] Father Morice's "Roman Catholic Church in the West"—"Canada and Its Provinces." Vol. II., p. 166.

of the Saskatchewan. Were these half-breeds to be again disturbed as in 1870? Were they to be looked upon as no better than squatters? Petition after petition in their behalf went to Ottawa, and promises were made by the Government to grant them their request, but nothing was done.

The half-breeds sent for Louis Riel, who was then living in Montana, to plead and defend their cause. This time, unfortunately, Riel, broke from the restraint of the clergy. He unfurled the standard of revolt, at the same time organizing a Provisional Government with himself as President and Gabriel Dumont as military leader.

Needless to say that the rebellion was crushed by the Canadian military forces and Riel captured and executed. The leading Indian tribes, with Chiefs Big Bear and Poundmaker at their head, had joined Riel at his invitation. This was an ill-advised step, and on Holy Thursday, April 2, 1885, pagan Cree Indians slew the missionaries Fathers Fafard and Marchand. This is known as the Frog Lake massacre. And now a question was looming above the horizon in Manitoba which, because of its nature, was to stir the whole Dominion. This was the school question. We will here let Father Morice, the historian of "The Roman Catholic Church in the West," set forth how the school question arose. Father Morice writes:[9] "Early in the year 1890 an event pregnant with far-reaching consequences had caused a great commotion. The shock of it continued to be felt throughout Manitoba and the whole Northwest of Canada. The cause of education had ever been paramount in the councils of the Roman Catholic Church in the Middle West of Canada. For over fifty years the schools of the colony, which ultimately developed into the Province of Manitoba, had been denominational, the Roman Catholic Church devoting the moneys she received from the Council of Assiniboia as much to the upkeep of her schools as to the maintenance of her purely ecclesiastical institutions. Moreover, when in 1869 the Canadian Government wished to reassure the Catholics of Assiniboia, its Secretary of State, Hon. Joseph Howe, expressly wrote to them through Bishop Taché that the Federal authorities 'would deeply regret if the civil and religious liberty of the whole population were not adequately protected.'

"Now, it is well known that the Roman Catholic Church has always insisted that one of the first requisites to 'religious liberty' is the right to educate the young upon religious lines. Hence, one of the clauses of the bill of rights presented for the acceptance of

[9] Father Morice's "Roman Catholic Church in the West"—"Canada and Its Provinces." Vol II., p. 174.

the Ottawa Government in 1870 demanded separate schools for the Catholics of the future Province of Manitoba. Their request had been granted by means of a provision in the act that created the province. By this provision the new province was forbidden to legislate against 'any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law or practice in the province at the union.' That Catholics then had this right or privilege 'by practice,' no sane man can deny. Hence, when this act became the Constitution of Manitoba they felt secure in the possession of their schools forever."

Although Hon. Thomas Greenway, Premier of a Liberal Government recently elected, had promised Archbishop Taché that it would be the policy of his Government to maintain inviolate the Catholic schools, and to show his good faith he took into his Cabinet a French Canadian Catholic, Mr. Prendergast, yet early the next year, that is on March 19, 1890, legislation was introduced abolishing the Catholic schools.

The question was carried to the Supreme Court of Canada and finally to the Imperial Privy Council. The latter decided that the Catholics of Manitoba had a real grievance and that they were entitled to redress by the Parliament of Canada. This led to the drawing up of the now historic Remedial Bill, upon which the late Sir Charles Tupper, as Premier, went to the country in 1896, but was defeated. And thus the Catholics of Manitoba were robbed of their Catholic schools.

In all this fight for Catholic rights it is needless to say that Archbishop Taché bore not only a conspicuous part, but the brunt of the battle. The great missionary prelate and statesman was soon to pass from his earthly scene of labors. Suffering from a grave malady, the nature of which he realized too late, the Archbishop of St. Boniface passed to his reward on June 22, 1894, admired and regretted by friends and foes alike.

Father Morice, the historian, tells us that when Archbishop Taché was ordained priest in 1845 he was the sixth Catholic clergyman to begin work in the British possessions between Lake Superior and the Rocky Mountains, and the Catholic Church of British Columbia was then very far from being organized. At the time of his death there were in the same territory no fewer than five Bishops and nearly 175 priests. In the ecclesiastical province of St. Boniface alone, where four nuns had settled the year before his own arrival there, there were now at least 150.

When Rev. Adelard L. P. Langevin, O. M. I., superior of the Oblate Fathers in the Canadian Northwest, was chosen successor to Archbishop Taché in the Archiepiscopal See of St. Boniface he

inherited the unsettled school question, with all the political and sectarian bitterness involved in it.

We have seen that the Tupper Government at Ottawa went down on the Remedial Bill and Sir Wilfrid Laurier with the Liberals came into power. Sir Wilfrid promised to settle the question satisfactorily, but his settlement at best was only a compromise, which meted out to the Catholics but small justice.

In the great struggle that ensued for the rights of the Catholics the figure of the new Archbishop, resolute and uncompromising, stood out militant. He rallied his forces on every side, and the better to carry on his campaign the Archbishop founded a fortnightly publication, "Les Cloches de St. Boniface," while the "Northwest Review," ably edited by Father Cherrier and Dr. J. K. Barrett, was doing splendid service for the Catholics in the cause of educational liberty.

In the last analysis it was a question for Rome to decide, and early in the year 1897 the then reigning Pontiff, Pope Leo XIII., of blessed memory, sent to Canada a special delegate, Monsignor Merry del Val, to study the question on the spot. In December of the same year Rome spoke upon the question, and the following paragraph from the famous Encyclical "Affari vos" shows how far the Father of Christendom supported and justified the battle which Monsignor Langevin had waged in behalf of the Catholic education of his people:[10] "We are aware," said the Encyclical, "that something has been done to amend the law. The men at the head of the Federal Government and the Provincial Government have already taken steps with a view of lessening the grievances so legitimate of the Catholics of Manitoba. We have no reason to doubt but that they have been inspired by a love of equity and a praiseworthy intention. We cannot, however, conceal the truth: the law that has been passed with a view of reparation is defective, imperfect and insufficient. It is much more that the Catholics ask and which nobody will question they have a right to ask."

It may be said here that Monsignor Langevin's episcopal reign as Archbishop of St. Boniface extended through years that marked the very greatest activity in the Canadian Northwest. They were years of expansion in both Church and State. A great tide of immigration had set in from well nigh every country in Europe, and in this tide there was a goodly percentage of Catholics, needing the most careful shepherding. Otherwise the wolves of proselytizing would pounce upon them.

The tireless and incessant labors of the great and zealous chief pastor of St. Boniface, now arranging for the creation of a new

[10] Father Morice's "Life of Mgr. Langevin," p. 147.

diocese, now laying and blessing the corner-stone of a new temple to God, now planning a new convent or college, or far out on the prairies, or in an Indian camp administering the sacrament of confirmation—all this began to tell upon his health, and more than once Archbishop Langevin had to seek rest of mind and body away from the field of his sacred labors.

Among the foreign elements that came to the Canadian Northwest to build a home were the Galicians. Monsignor Langevin had been zealous beyond measure to secure as far as possible for the different Catholic peoples, who were grouped together in parishes in his vast archdiocese, priests of their own race and language. But the Ruthenians, who hailed from Galicia in Austria, were Catholics who used the Ruthenian rite, so there was a double difficulty—that of supplying them with priests of their language and rite.

Soon proselytizers were at work, endeavoring to allure them from their faith, and the effort for the time was not without some success. However, the arrival of Ruthenian priests and a Ruthenian Bishop soon put a stop to the active propaganda for the perversion of the Ruthenians.

And now there was fast reaching completion a great work dear to the heart of Monsignor Langevin. We have seen that historic St. Boniface on the banks of the Red River had a succession of Cathedrals, but owing to the growth of the Catholic population of St. Boniface, the last one built by Monsignor Taché was entirely inadequate for the needs of the rapidly growing congregation. Together with the sacristy, the new Cathedral of St. Boniface is 312 feet long, 80 feet wide and cost $325,000. It is constructed of stone, and its dedication took place on October 4, 1908, in which thirteen Archbishops and Bishops took part, among whom were the Archbishops of Ottawa, Quebec, Kingston and St. Paul, Minn. Archbishop Ireland preached in English.

It had long been the desire of Monsignor Langevin to search for the remains of the Jesuit Father Aulneau, who, together with the son of the great discoverer of the Northwest, Lavérendrye, and nineteen companions, had been massacred at Fort St. Charles, Lake of the Woods, in the year 1736. As first president of the Historical Society of St. Boniface, Archbishop Langevin led the search expeditions of 1902, 1905 and 1907 in person, and it was really due to his efforts that Fort St. Charles and the remains of Father Aulneau were found in August, 1908.

The intense labors and increasing duties of the tireless prelate of St. Boniface were beginning to tell on his physical strength. Such a round of episcopal labor could not fail to reduce a constitution already impaired by an insidious malady. A stay of some months

in the mild atmosphere of Texas gave the Archbishop, for the moment, renewed strength. It was, however, but temporary. While visiting the scenes of his boyhood days in his beloved Quebec his fatal illness struck him. He had been busy attending religious functions, now at Quebec, now at St. Anne de Beaupre, now at Montreal, when finally he went to spend a few days with his brother, Hermas. Here it was found necessary to take Monsignor Langevin to the Hotel Dieu in Montreal, where, having received the last sacrament of Extreme Unction from Monsignor Bruchesi, Archbishop of Montreal, the great and zealous Archbishop of St. Boniface passed to his reward on the morning of June 15, 1915. No eulogy is needed here to witness to the great virtues of piety, devotion and courage which marked the life of this noble prelate of God's Church. At his grave Catholic and non-Catholic in the highest walks of life stood bowed, and paid to his life and memory the just tribute of praise.

May the writer of this paper, the personal friend of the late Monsignor Langevin for years, be permitted to pay tribute to his memory in the following lines, penned the day of the Archbishop's death:

A WARRIOR OF THE CROSS.

Toll! toll! the bells of St. Boniface,
A prelate of God has gone to his rest;
Darkness has compassed the course of the voyageur,
For a light has gone out from the skies of the West.
Toll! toll! the bells of St. Boniface,
The Red River swells with a requiem plaint;
The children kneel in deep invocation
As they pray for the soul of the warrior and saint.

Toll! toll! the bells of St. Boniface,
Deep is the mystery that shadows the grave;
Deep is the sorrow that sweeps o'er the prairie,
But deepest of all is God's mercy to save.
Toll! toll! the bells of St. Boniface,
His was a sword of righteous truth—
Courage and faith and pity commingled,
Like to His Master in mercy and ruth.

Toll! toll! the bells of St. Boniface,
Here was a leader we ne'er more shall meet;
A knight on the parapet fearless of danger;
Here was a captain who ne'er would retreat.

Toll! toll! the bells of St. Boniface,
Deep in our hearts stirs their sorrowing care;
Past are the battles, the strife and the clamor,
Now our souls seek but the victory of prayer.

To-day it may be said that the Catholic Church in the Canadian Northwest is in a flourishing condition. On the succession of Monsignor Langevin to the See of St. Boniface in 1895, the mother see of the Canadian Northwest was the only Archdiocese from the great lakes to the Pacific Ocean. Now, two years after his demise, there are five Archbishops, three Bishops, three Vicars Apostolic and one Prefecture Apostolic, extending from the head of Lake Superior to where the Yukon territory touches Alaska. The present Archbishop of St. Boniface is Monsignor Beliveau, whom the late Archbishop Langevin had named as his Auxiliary Bishop in 1913.

To one great religious community of men, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, the Church in the Canadian Northwest owes much. Since the first arrival of these zealous and self-sacrificing missionaries in the Northwest seventy-two years ago the faith once delivered to the saints has been preached on the prairies within the ice-bound regions of the far North, in the Indian tepee and among the miners of the Yukon and British Columbia. The glory of God and the conquest of souls has been their motto from the days when the great Indian missionary, Father Lacombe, began his work among the Indian tribes on the plains, and a Monsignor Taché and a Monsignor Langevin battled for the rights of their people against worldly forces arrayed against them. Truly did we say at the opening of this paper that the Catholic Church in Manitoba is a happy and fruitful theme.

Thomas O'Hagan.

Toronto, Canada.

HERACLIUS AND THE EARLIEST OF THE CRUSADES.

THE first crusade was not the First Crusade. It was not conducted against the Saracens or the Osmanli (Ottoman) Turks nor against the hordes of advancing Islam. Nor was it instigated by Pope Urban or Peter the Hermit nor prosecuted by mediæval knights and barons. It was, in fact, a war carried on against the fire-worshippers of Persia by the Byzantine Greeks under Heraclius, Emperor of the East.

Under the reign of Phocas (603-610) the Levantine remnants of the old Roman Empire had been very badly governed. There was dissatisfaction at home, corruption and economic decay everywhere. There were disheartening encounters with European enemies; the Avars were in Thrace itself. But most important of all for our purposes, there had been a bitter and unsuccessful struggle with Chosroës, King of Persia. While Phocas was indulging in tyrannies at home, his enemy was ruthlessly sweeping over the Mesopotamian provinces, besetting, conquering and leveling Merdin, Dara, Amida and Edessa. Matters became so bad and one serious crisis followed another with such unsatisfactory results that finally the famous General Priscus[1] began to look for aid far from the great city by the Bosphorus. The elderly Heraclius, exarch of Alexandria, responded in proper wise by despatching his son Heraclius and his nephew Nicetas to Constantinople by water and by land.

Heraclius received a hearty welcome; Phocas was overthrown by powers within the city and brought before the newcomer, who it was believed would save the empire.[2] According to the legend handed down by John of Antioch, before having his predecessor in the imperial chair killed, Heraclius remarked scornfully:

"Is it thus that you have governed the empire?"

"Will you," replied Phocas, "govern it better?"

Nor did the first ten years of the new reign promise much improvement, in either external or internal affairs, save for the single circumstance that the Church and the State seemed in closer sympathy and alliance than they had been for many decades past. The new ruler was superstitious and depended upon astrological and other symbols and signs; he persecuted the Jews with relentless

[1] The name is given so in Bury; Crispus by Gibbon.

[2] The unsatisfactory character of the reign of Phocas is told in the "Chronicon Paschale" (pp. 695-701, ed. Bonn, 1829; of the "Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae," used throughout this paper), a contemporary source probably composed at Alexandria during the reign of Heraclius. (See Milman's "Gibbon," IV., 466, and Bury, "Later Roman Empire," II., 197).

vigor; when his wife, Eudocia, died in 612, he scandalized the orthodox churchmen by marrying his niece Martina; he anticipated the custom of coming Sultans by condemning to a monastery his son-in-law, the same General Priscus who had corresponded invitingly with Heraclius' own father, since, he said, he who had been treacherous toward his own father could not be expected to keep faith with a friend.[3] In short, in domestic politics Heraclius gave ample evidence that he would probably end by being as unsatisfactory as previous Emperors.

In foreign affairs also the reign continued for almost a decade as inauspiciously as it had begun. The Avars remained knocking at the gates of Thrace. And across the water, on that peninsula known as Asia Minor, which stretches out toward the Balkan peninsula so as almost to form a tempting bridge to Asiatics who might wish to proceed against Europe, the great King of the Persians, Chosroës II. continued his seemingly predestined advances. Hierapolis, Chalcis and Aleppo fell in 611. Cæsarea and Jerusalem were conquered in 614-615. The fugitives from Palestine who had crossed over into North Africa were absolutely dismayed when Alexandria had to succumb in 616 and Egypt became a Persian province. It was only a question of time when Tripoli, Ancyra and the Isle of Rhodes would be taken in their turn. The armies of the East advanced toward the Golden Horn, took and held Chalcedon, opposite Constantinople. The Empire from the Nile to the Hellespont was in the hands of the pagans of Persia.

These were dark days for the house of Heraclius. By the conquest of Jerusalem the invaders had carried into captivity not only Zacharias, the patriarch, but the Holy Sponge, the Lance that had shed blood from the side of Christ, and even that part of the True Cross which Helena, wife of Constantinople the Great, had discovered and identified some centuries earlier, as Eusebius has so quaintly told in his "Vita Constantini."[4] In addition Avars was pressing down into Thrace, and the loss of Egypt and the corn trade threatened the empire with an awful famine. In 618 Heraclius was so disgusted with the turn of affairs that he prepared to leave permanently for Carthage and to transfer the seat of government to that place. He even went so far as to transport all the royal

[3] "Nichephorus Constantinoplitanus" (p. 7) states it thus (in the translation of Petavius): "Qui socero fidem non praestitisti, qui tandem amico praestabis."

[4] I quote from the "Chronographia Brevia" of Nichephorus for convenience in the Latin: "Eius imperii anno tertio Chosroës Persa Romano ditionis partem subegit. Hierosolyman vastavit; sancta loca combussit et populi multitudinem immensam cum Zacharia Patriarcha et pretioso crucis ligno egit captivam et in Persidem abduxit."

treasure out of the palace and to send it on ahead in ships in anticipation of his own removal.

But it so happened that the long arm of chance stepped in and altered the whole course of his life, and perhaps of the empire. The boats which carried his household treasure were wrecked in a storm, the treasure was lost and the plan was made public. Then, instead of turning against their ruler and accusing him of treacherous intent to desert them, the inhabitants of Constantinople, and particularly the ecclesiastics, urged him to remain. They led him to the high altar of Sancta Sophia and there heard him take a solemn oath not to avoid his obvious obligation and to instigate a strenuous campaign against the enemies who were tracking over the provinces which had once acknowledged allegiance to Rome and—what is much more impelling—who were desecrators of the most holy places of Christendom and taunting possessors of the Holy Wood itself.

This most remarkable scene enacted in the great church by the Bosphorus was the beginning of a long series of stupendous events. It was the consecration of what we must regard as the real first crusade. Nor can the religious light in which we view this movement be over-emphasized. Emperor and Church and people were united in the common cause. The seizure of the piece of the True Cross did what no merely military inroads had ever done before. All the traditions of Christianity were recalled. All the religious passions were aroused. The men who went to war were impelled by no such variety of mingled selfish and ideal motives as actuated the mediæval crusaders who were to come after them. There were few if any adventurers; there were few with such commercial interests as later sent the Genoese and the Venetians to the Holy Land; there were practically no seekers of glory. The heritage of the old nationality and a deep reverence for the things which were held sacred called the idlers from their couches, the peasants from their fields and the merchants from their marts.

Something of the religious character of this upheaval may be pictured by imagining the furious indignation called forth in the streets of Constantinople, in the heart of the Emperor and in the spirits of the Christian people by the following letter sent by Chosroës to Heraclius:

"The noblest of the gods, the king and master of the whole earth, the son of the great Oromazes, Chosroës, to Heraclius his vile and insensate slave. Refusing to submit to our reign, you call yourself a lord and sovereign. You detain and disperse our treasures and deceive our servants. Having gathered together a troop of brigands, you ceaselessly annoy us; have I not then destroyed the Greeks? You say you have trust in God; why has He not delivered

out of my hand Cæsarea, Jerusalem, Alexandria? Are you then ignorant that I have subdued land and sea to my laws? And could I not also destroy Constantinople? But not so. I will pardon all your faults if you will come hither with your wife and children. I will give you lands, vines and olive groves, which will supply you with the necessaries of life; I will look upon you with a kindly glance. Do not deceive yourself with a vain hope in that Christ who was not able to save Himself from the Jews that killed Him by nailing Him to a Cross. If you descend to the depths of the sea, I will stretch out my hand and will seize you, and you shall then see me unwillingly."[5]

This insult brought forth a reply probably as unexpected as it was unpremeditated. Instead of humility and subjection. Heraclius answered with defiance and the drawn sword, while the churchmen and the citizens of Constantinople rallied behind him in the cause of the first crusade. The free distribution of corn, which had been one of the privileges of the citizens since the founding of the city and which was becoming increasingly difficult since the loss of Egypt and the interruption of the supply, for the first time since the year 300 was stopped. The people who had always been studious of ease and engaged in little other occupations save those of loitering and attending games and festivities, the effete people of the Byzantine city joined the army to offer war instead of submission to the arrogance of a Persian King and the folly of fire-worship. Gold and silver treasures of the churches themselves were loaned to the Government under a vague promise of future repayment with a slight interest. Money and men were forthcoming. A huge army and navy were prepared to advance against the presumption of Chosroës.

There were some preliminaries to be settled first. There was the problem of organizing for the prosecution of the war, organizing for victory, and there were the Avars in the rear—in Thrace—who had to be rendered harmless before Heraclius could turn his face to the rising sun and fight and conquer the Persians. In 619 he nearly fell a victim to the seemingly friendly, but treacherous advance of the chagan of the Avars. A parley had been arragned, but bad faith on the part of the Avars attempted to turn it into a capture of Heraclius, of the new and dangerous Heraclius, recently aroused from his lethargy. From the appointed place of meeting Heraclius fled after casting aside his royal robes and hiding his crown under the rude mantle of a common man in which he deigned to disguise his person. The attempt to pacify the Avars had failed, and strong defenses were erected so as to

[5] Quoted by Bury, II., 220.

protect Constantinople from the Balkan foes while the armies and the Emperor were far away in Asia Minor.

The administration of home affairs was provided for; the patriarch was placed in supreme command of the local forces. The Emperor studied strategy and tactics, studied them to such good effect as we shall afterwards see demonstrated. A Persian fleet which attempted to assail Constantinople from the side of the sea, directing its attacks from Chalcedon, was put to rout. All was now ready for the great endeavor. Says Bury:

"By the end of 621 all the preliminaries were over. Friendly relations had been established with the Avars; the imperial city on the Bosphorus had a fleet to protect it against the Persians of Chalcedon; the military chest was well provided, owing to the co-operation of the Church, and an army had been formed which was to be further increased on its arrival in Asia. There was a deliberation and a want of haste in these preparations which lent them a certain solemnity, and all minds must have been wrought up to form high expectations for the success of this enterprise, which was marked by two novelties. It was a distinctly religious war, in which the worshippers of Christ and the worshippers of fire were fighting to the death, and it was to be conducted by the Emperor in person, an arrangement which to the inhabitants of Byzantium was a new and strange thing, for since Theodosius the Great no Emperor who reigned at New Rome had led an army to victory or defeat. Zeno the Isaurian had indeed proclaimed that he would conduct a campaign against Theodosius, and, more recently Maurice had marched as far as Anchialus to take the field against the Avars; yet at the last moment both Maurice and Zeno had abandoned their valorous purposes. But Heraclius was not as Zeno or as Maurice, and the recent naval success in the Bosphorus was an inspiriting omen of victory."[6]

And so it came to pass that on Easter Monday, 622, Heraclius doffed the imperial robes of purple, as the poet Georgius of Pisidia has told us, speaking of *"nostria pietas religiosi Heraclii,"* and put on the garb of a common soldier, with the black footgear of the fighter, so soon to be dyed ruby red in Persian blood. Thus, carrying an image of the Virgin, which is supposed to have fallen from heaven ("not made by hands"), the great ruler of Constantinople went forth to do mighty battle with that pagan who had declared that

[6] Quoted from Bury, "The Later Roman Empire," II., 224. It may be said that Bury and not Gibbon has been the chief basis of this paper and the chief guide to sources. His book is practically the final one on this period, that is, unless further discoveries are made of contemporary documents and chronicles which may add new facts or cause a reinterpretation of the field which he has covered. Gibbon is interesting, but untrustworthy.

he would not give peace to the Emperor of Rome until the crucified God had been abjured and the worship of the sun embraced. Yet there was no tendency to accede to the insolent demands of the Asiatic monarch.

The war soon developed into a series of splendid campaigns between the military genius and resourcefulness of Heraclius on the one hand, and Chosroës, or his commanding general, Shahr Barz, on the other. Where one camp was the scene of Oriental luxury and voluptuousness, the other was rigorous and plain in its simplicity and in the fervor of its religious piety. As Georgius of Pisidia, the poet, has said, cymbals and all kinds of music gratified the ears of Shahr Bazr, and naked women danced before him, while the Christian Emperor sought delight in psalms sung to mystical instruments, which awoke a divine echo in his soul.[7] And amid all the obvious contrasts between the West and the East there flashed the play of mighty minds in military strategy. For from the first day that Heraclius landed his soldiers on the Mediterranean shores of Asia Minor and recruited and drilled new levies, there stood out above all things a cleverness in handling armies which was to win the long and bitter struggle. Manœuvring in the region of Cappadocia and Pontus, the Greeks always skilfully avoided battle until the positions were favorable to them, and then they pressed home the advantage in revenge of the holy altars desecrated and the relics of Christ profaned. After a few shifty moves, Heraclius turned an ambush of the Persians to his own advantage and inflicted a severe defeat in 622-623. During the year 623 he pushed the conflict into Cizerbiyan, the veritable country of the fire-worshippers themselves, took and rancasked the capital, Ganzaca, destroyed its fire temple, and only the severity of an approaching winter prevented his men from marching almost unmolested into the city of Ctesiphon itself, capital of the Parthians and of the Sassanids. Well might he exaggerate a trifle in saying to his men: "Do not be afraid of the enemy, for with God's grace one Roman will turn to flight a thousand Persians. For the safety of our brethren let us sacrifice our own lives unto God, winning thereby the martyr's crown and the praises of future generations." Well might he exaggerate even more than this, for during the year 624 Heraclius dodged hither and yon through Armenia and Albania, about Ezeroum and the lower plains and mountains of the Caucasus, avoiding and outgeneraling three hostile armies, which he destroyed in turn.

So complete was his success that he had defended Constantinople from a distance of many hundreds of miles and had

[7] Bury, op. cit., II., 229.

forced the Persians to recall a large number of troops from Alexandria and Chalcedon.

The story of the year 626 as it has been related to us reads like a typical mediæval chronicle of impossibilities. Heraclius headed again for Asia Minor and performed almost incredible personal feats. Slipping in and out among the mountain passes, keeping out of touch when he did not wish to fight, fighting hard when opportunity offered him an advantage, he led his troops twice across the range of the Taurus and drew his foes once more toward Cilicia and into a decisive conflict by the river Sarus. There, like some warrior of old, he stood forth at the head of the army and overthrew on a bridge which guarded the passage a single mighty Persian warrior who seemed to bar all advance. Small wonder that his recording poet, Georgius of Pisidia, grew enthusiastic and wrote of these events and of the Emperor's prowess in a tone of almost lyric enthusiasm.

The year 626 was given up to a second succession of victories near the very centre of the Persian kingdom—in Azerbiyan. And then in the two following years, 627-628, there came the conclusive clash of all the long decades of bitter and persistent warfare between the Persians and the Romans of the East. Chosroës was summoning the last of his forces for the final decision, and Heraclius knew that the end was in sight. He divided his army into three parts—one he put under his brother Theodorus to guard Mesopotami; another he despatched as reserves to assist the Constantinopolitans in a crucial defense of the imperial city, and with the third he pursued his own campaign against Chosroës himself in Assyria.

Shahr Barz had been sent far out to Chalcedon to conduct operations against the capital by the Golden Horn, in conjunction with the re-aroused Avars, in the hope that a powerful blow aimed at the seat of the Greek Government would lessen the pressure in the provinces and force Heraclius to hasten back to the Bosphorus. The Avars pushed down from the north and infested the city. The Persians were appearing in increasing numbers on the Asiatic shore. The chagan of the Avars, confident in the aid of the illustrious Shahr Barz, addressed the following appeal to the leader of the forces for home defense which had been assembled in Constantinople:

"Your absent prince, even now a captive or a fugitive, has left Constantinople to its fate; nor can you escape the arms of the Avars and the Persians, unless you soar into the air like birds, unless like fishes you dive under the waves."

But events proved otherwise, and after fierce engagements and long battering at the walls it was demonstrated that the invaders

could not soar like birds over the fortifications of Constantinople nor like fishes could they elude the destructive power of the Greek fleet set to guard the Bosphorus.[8]

The task of Heraclius was not so critical. His worries were chiefly over what was happening at home, and over the way in which his rather explicit instructions were being carried out on the battlefields by the Hellespont. In 627 he had allied himself with strong forces of Khazar Turks, had even offered to marry his daughter, Eudocia, to a prince or chagan of that tribe.[9] The outcome of this projected alliance may be said to have been satisfactory in both a matrimonial and a military way. The particular chagan to whom the promise was made fortunately died before there was any opportunity of turning the Grecian princess over to the irreligious Turk, and so Heraclius was saved the embarrassment of explaining the harm to his daughter in the light of the greater good to the State. The military alliance, however, materialized with decisive results. With a strategic skill which we can gather from reading the accounts of his movements as the chroniclers have related them, with a personal bravery which, in true mediæval fashion, the chroniclers have been prone to emphasize, Heraclius and his Turk allies forced their way into Assyria against the Persian General Razates, whom Chosroës had sent forth with the injunction to conquer or die ringing in his ears. Again killing his enemy in the face of the army, Heraclius proved once more his personal valor and his personal interest in this first crusade, Razates died, and by the hand of Heraclius. Near the great city of Nineveh the Persians went down to decisive defeat; effective spying, interception and falsification of messages not only enabled Shahr Barz to be kept off the scene, but even led him to revolt against his King. The armies of Greece swept into the Persian kingdom and up to the very gates of Ctesiphon. Internal disaffection shook Chosroës II. from his throne. Persia made peace. The True Cross was restored. The Eastern Empire had conquered the fire-worshippers and conquered them completely. The first crusade was over.

The denouement of the drama is divided into two scenes according to nationality. In 628, when the victorius Heraclius returned to Constantinople after his long absence on successful campaigns, there was seen such a triumphal entry as the Roman Empire had not known for centuries. He marched in through the Golden Gate amid the plaudits of the entire populace; four huge elephants were brought along out of the East to amuse the inhabi-

[8] See "Nichephorus Constantinopalitanus," p. 18.
[9] See the "Bellum Avaricum" of Georgius of Pisidia.

tants and to serve as symbols of the territories acquired and restored. With elaborate solemnity, the True Cross was solemnly "uplifted" in the old Church of Sancta Sophia; new passages in praise of the restoration were inserted in the ritual, and all Christians felt their hearts thrilled with religious and national fervor. In the following year, 629, he bore the Holy Wood back to its proper resting place in Jerusalem, where even Benjamin, the famous Jew of Tiberias, honored him with splendid ceremonies.

In the East Shahr Barz was made head of the monarchy of Persia; but his domineering cruelties made necessary definite interference on the part of Heraclius before his son Yezdejird was able to succeed him. And Yezdejird was the last of the Sassanids. For even while Chosroës and Heraclius were engaging in exhausting and lengthy combats which destroyed one kingdom and weakened another, the Saracens of Arabia were being converted to a belief that there is but one God and Mohammed is His prophet. With the fierce fanaticism of a new faith the hordes of Islam were preparing to extend their rule around both shores of the Mediterranean and to carry the banner of the Moslem in holy war across the straits of Gibraltar and the Dardanelles and as far as Tours and Vienna. A legend has come down to us that in the midst of the deadly struggles of the nations Chosroës II. was invited to acknowledge Mohammed as the apostle of God—that he tore the letter into bits, that the river by which he stood at the time is said to have receded in horror at his profane refusal, that the potentates of Islam remarked in accidental prophecy: "It is thus that God will tear the kingdom and reject the supplications of Chosroës"—these details, interesting in themselves, are insignificant beside the main fact that the portents had come of a new prophet whose proselyting armies should conquer and die in the accomplishment of a stupendous conversion of peoples. The "Chronographia Brevia" of Nicephorus of Constantinople, which records the death of Chosroës and the recall of the captives and the True Cross,[10] sets down almost on the same page: "Eius tempore Romanæ ditonis pars maxima a Saracenis Ctesiphon was abondoned by Yezdejird in 637 and Bagdad, the home of the Caliphs, was built of its stones, vastata fuit."

The first Mohammedan danger was becoming dangerous indeed, and after the first onslaught of the Sarcaens had been with difficulty repulsed, the Osmanli Turks were to carry the standards of Islam so far as nearly to enclose the waters of the tideless sea, and the call of the Muezzin from the tower was to resound from Spain

[10] "Anno eius duodecimo Chosroës Persa interfectus est et revocata captivatas et vivifica crux propriis sibi reparatis, reposita fuit."

to the Ægean. Against them were to be raised by mediæval knights and barons, by Pope Urban or by Peter the Hermit warriors of Western Europe to carry on the First, the Second, the Third and the Fourth Crusades. But the real first crusade had been fought and won by Heraclius, Emperor of Constantinople.

The rulers of the city by the Bosphorus have had interesting and curious biographies. One was crowned before his predecessor was completely dead; another was elevated to the throne with prison irons still on his feet; Basil Bulgaroktonos lives, notorious in history for slaughtering several thousand prisoners and sending back to their Bulgar King a remnant of a hundred with their eyes put out; Romanus Diogenes and many another had their own eyes put out by usurpers and were immured unwillingly into monasteries; one of the Angeli delighted in collecting *eikons* to the glory of God; Heraclius, as we have seen, melted down church plate to fill the treasury; the Empress Theodora had many imagined lovers and married nearly as frequently as Henry of England; dozens of deposed Emperors had their noses slit, of whom only one, Justinian II., managed to return from his enforced rustication on the Euxine to rule again on his old throne. But of them all, not even Constantine XI. the valiant, who fell like a common soldier to prevent the star and crescent of Byzantium from decking the banner of the Turk; Leo the Isaurian, who downed the Saracens and encouraged the Iconoclasts, nor Justinian, hte money spender, so skillfully aided by the military genius of Belisarius—none deserves such recognition at our hands as Heraclius, who came out of Egypt to save the empire, shattered the Persian power within its own domains and replaced the True Cross in its proper sanctuary at Jerusalem. He was the first of the Crusaders and probably the greatest.

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UTOPIA: WHERE MEN WERE HAPPY.

AT a number of times since Plato tried his hand at it, nearly twenty-five hundred years ago in his republic, men of literary and philosophic turns of mind have sat down to work out for themselves just how mankind could make itself ever so much happier than they found that it was at the current moment. There is, of course, a great fascination about the problem thus presented and yet the solution of it evades men. For while there is no doubt that all men desire happiness and at all times have striven after it, there is no doubt also that they have never attained it, and we are perhaps farther away from it at the present time than ever.

Indeed, it has become perfectly clear that the means which a great many men have taken in the past and are still taking to secure happiness for themselves, while they fail egregiously to secure the desired end, succeed only too well in another lamentable way in making others around them extremely unhappy. Indeed, it would seem to be true, as has been often said, that this world apparently was rather particularly planned by some far-seeing intelligence to make enduring happiness here on earth almost inevitably impossible while encouraging striving after it constantly, yet providing all sorts of opportunities for the practice of unselfishness, if people would but take them. Even a superficial review of man and his ways and of the history of our social order makes it very clear that there are almost numberless possibilities of unhappiness here below compared to the possibilities of happiness. They seem to be most happy who strive least consciously for happiness and, forgetting about themselves, devote themselves to duty as it appeals to them and above all to such duties as redound to the increase of happiness for others.

One thing is perfectly sure, that, in spite of all our talk of progress, the men of our time have succeeded in making themselves extremely unhappy. I sometimes lecture on the subject "The Happiest of Centuries," naming the thirteenth as the precious time in modern history, when more men in proportion to all those alive were happy than at any other time. This is true because men had more opportunities for satisfaction in life, because more of them had work to do that they cared to do, and, after all, the great underlying principle of happiness for humanity is "blessed is the man that has found his work." Great art, great architecture, great literature, philosophy and education, fine social service, all these,

so characteristic of that time, provide magnificent opportunities for happiness as far as men are capable of taking active part in them, and then, besides, nearly every one else, while men are doing such great work, shares in the atmosphere of satisfaction thus created.

Whenever I have lectured on "The Thirteenth as the Happiest of Centuries," however, I have usually ventured to suggest that probably the very unhappiest time of human existence is our own. For some reason apparently in the designs of an inscrutable Providence we were born into the period when more human beings in proportion to the whole number of those alive are unhappy than was probably true ever before. Since the outbreak of the war I do not find many people who disagree with me seriously, but even before the war I felt that this expression as to the superlative unhappiness of the men of our time was true. Our insanity rate was higher than ever before and has doubled in the last generation. Our suicide rate is ever so much higher than at any time before, and that, too, has more than doubled within a generation. Besides, the age at which people go insane and commit suicide is getting to be ever younger and younger, for the strain, the struggle for existence and the stress of the lack of sympathy around them produces a profound feeling of discontent and dissatisfaction with life.

We may very well discuss, then, quite as seriously as ever before what are the possible means by which man might be happier than he is. It so happens that this year 1917 we are celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of the publication of Blessed Thomas Moore's "Utopia," in which, deeply influenced by Plato's Republic, he set forth just how he thought men might be much happier than they were in his time. There have been few men in all the world's history who have been so little deceived by the illusory things of life as the great English Chancellor. He incurred the displeasure of King Henry VII. when yet a beardless youth by daring to prevent legislation which would give the King control of a large sum of money, but would inflict a grievous burden on the English people. He had to give up his Parliamentary career because of the King's displeasure thus incurred, but far from making him less courageous, this actually seems to have made him more uncompromising than ever, and in every action in his life he manifestly consulted never his own interest, but always duty as he saw it, no matter what it might cost himself.

As Lord Chancellor he might have been Henry VIII.'s right hand man; he might surely have attained high nobility; he might

have laid the foundation of an immense fortune. All he needed to do was to assent, as all the Bishops of England with practically one exception had done, to the King's supremacy in religious as well as political matters, and then every possible earthly advantage would have been his. On the other hand, he faced by his refusal not only his own death, but the attainder of treason carried with it the confiscation of all his goods and he would have to leave his family in utter poverty. There has probably never been two more contrasting human alternatives ever offered, and yet the Lord Chancelor calmly took death for treason rather than violate his conscience. Nor did he set himself up as the judge in the situation and insist that as he had done others must do. He did not blame the Bishops for having done what they did; he told the judges who condemned him that he hoped to meet them in heaven. All that he could do was to follow his own conscience, cost him what it might. There was no obscuration of life values for him in any self-interest and no eclipse of the moral order even under the stress of the highest worldly consideration. Surely, if any man ever could, Sir Thomas More was in a position to write about human life and its possibilities of happiness without being led away into side issues of lack of proper appreciation for the things that are really worth while.

ROMANCE OF UTOPIA.

While More was rather a philosophic and legal genius than a literary man, the beginning, particularly of "Utopia," shows very well that he knew how to take advantage of romantic elements in the immediate historical incidents around him to add to the interest of his work. Attention has often been called to how well Shakespeare adapted and adopted incidents in current history, earthquakes, persecutions of the Jews, recent voyages to America and the like to give a local timely interest to portions of his plays. Sir Thomas More did that with excellent appreciation of publicity values. The story of "Utopia" is supposed to be taken down from the lips of a wandering traveler—that is, a man who had sailed with Amerigo Vespucci on at least one of his voyages as a volunteer mariner, but manifestly of high character and educated intelligence and who insisted on staying over from one expedition to the other and while thus left behind making a particular study of the peoples and conditions that were to be found in America.

I need scarcely say that in 1516, when More began the writing of "Utopia," the story of Vespucci's voyages, which had not been published until the second part of the first decade of the century,

were attracting almost universal attention from educated people. Columbus' discoveries had apparently revealed a new way to get to the East, and Columbus himself died without realizing that he had discovered a new continent. Amerigo Vespucci, however, with a daring equal to that of Columbus himself, though, of course, stimulated to his voyages by the news of Columbus' discovery, was the first to reach the western continental mainland, and his voyages made it very clear that a new world had been reached and that it was not the shores of India that were being explored. For some years the sailing along the coast of the peninsula that we call South America had seemed to indicate or had been explained at least as representing a third peninsula which jotted out from Asia beyond Farther India, which was itself known to be beyond what we call Hindustan. Vespucci's voyages, however, soon made it clear that this theory was untenable and that this must be another continent, so that no wonder America was named after him. The suggestions sometimes made that he deprived Columbus of honor in any way are quite untrue. He deserved the honor that came to him.

It is one of the men who had been with Vespucci, then, that the writer of "Utopia" is supposed to meet in the person of Raphael (or Ralph) Hythloday, whose last name is composed of two Greek words which mean "observer of trifles." The adventurer tells him all the story of this wonderfully sensible people who lived over here in America and had solved practically all the social problems that have bothered mankind at all times.

This gives More an opportunity to treat of nearly everything under the sun and a few other things besides in the relations of men to each other and to their environment. There is literally scarcely anything that he does not touch on. Hospitals and the care of the poor, eugenics and physical examinations before marriage and the eight-hour day, which he reduces to a six-hour day, three hours in the morning and three in the afternoon, with an interval of three hours for recreation in the middle of the day, music at meals for the sake of digestion, public playgrounds for the children, public baths, the whipping of children, books and libraries, religious tolerance, military discipline, the death penalty, door closers and many other things are all to be found discussed in "Utopia." There is not one of them with regard to which the present generation might not obtain interesting information out of the pages of this four-hundred-year-old book. James Russell Lowell once said that to read a classic is like reading a commentary in the morning papers. If, as seems proper, the converse of his proposi-

tion is true, then More's four-hundred-year-old little book, with its constantly recurring commentary on the morning paper, must be indeed set down as a classic.

The simple direct way in which More introduces this romantic element to his story is characteristic of that utter simplicity of and lack of striving after effect which was his most prominent quality throughout life. There is a little bit of perhaps unconscious personal revelation in the fact that he puts his meeting with the traveler from America who had visited Utopia on an occasion when, having been to Mass on a weekday, he was strolling home to take up the day's work. It might perhaps be thought that there was a little egotism in his confession of having been to Mass on a weekday, but then it was well known to be his custom to go practically every day, and any one who knows Cardinal Gasquet's work on the English parish will appreciate that about half the population went to Mass on weekdays before the Reformation. More begins his story very straightforwardly then:

"One day, as I was returning home from Mass at St. Mary's, which is the chief church and the most frequented of any in Antwerp, I saw my friend Peter Giles, by accident, talking with a stranger, who seemed past the flower of his age; his face was tanned, he had a long beard and his cloak was hanging carelessly about him, so that, by his looks and habit, I concluded that he was a seaman. As soon as Peter saw me, he came and saluted me, and as I was returning his civility, he took me aside and pointing to him with whom he had been discoursing, he said: 'Do you see that man? I was just thinking to bring him to you.' I answered: 'He should have been very welcome on your account.' 'And on his own, too,' replied he, 'if you knew the man, for there is none alive that can give so copious an account of unknown nations and countries as he can do, which I know you very much desire.' Then said I: 'I did not guess amiss, for at first sight I took him for a seaman.' 'But you are much mistaken,' said he, 'for he has not sailed as a seaman, but as a traveler or rather a philosopher!'"

More begins his "Utopia" by stating without ado that his embassy in the Low Countries leaving some time on his hands during the interval when, after the first conference between the ambassadors, the embassy from Charles withdrew to consult with their sovereign, so More, "since the business would admit it, went to Antwerp," where he met Peter Giles, better known perhaps by the Latin than the English form of his name, Petrus Ægidius, and by him was introduced to the traveler, who told him all about Utopia. In the first two paragraphs he describes two friends, Cuthbert

Tonstal and Peter Giles, and praises both of them very highly. He has practically enshrined both of them in an immortal work, and their characters have probably been better known to succeeding generations because of More's kindly words with regard to them than for anything almost that they accomplished in life.

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION.

There are many surprising passages in the book, but none more amazing to those who think that mankind is changing in modern times than the expressions with regard to religious tolerance. In "Utopia" More represent Utopus, the original King of the country, as taking high ground on this thorny important subject. More has been accused himself during his Lord Chancellorship of having violated his own policy as thus set forth, but even Protestant Lord Chancellors of England have defended him from such aspersions and have shown that they were founded on misunderstandings of his legal activities when laws already on the statute books which he was sworn to carry out faithfully perforce guided his policy. In "Utopia" More says (p. 166):

"At the first constitution of their government, Utopus having understood that before his coming among them the old inhabitants had been engaged in great quarrels concerning religion, by which they were so divided among themselves that he found it an easy thing to conquer them, since, instead of uniting their forces against him, every different party in religion fought by themselves. After he had subdued them, he made a law that every man might be of what religion he pleased and might endeavor to draw others to it by the force of argument and by amicable and modest ways, but without bitterness against those of other opinions; but that he ought to use no other force but that of persuasion, and was neither to mix with it reproaches nor violence, and such as did otherwise were to be condemned to banishment or slavery.

"This law was made by Utopus, not only for preserving the public peace, which he saw suffered much by daily contentions and irreconcilable heats, but because he thought the interest of religion itself required it. He judged it not fit to determine anything rashly and seemed to doubt whether those different forms of religion might not all come from God, who might inspire man in a different manner and be pleased with this variety; he therefore thought it indecent and foolish for any man to threaten and terrify another to make him believe what did not appear to him to be true. And supposing that only one religion was really true and the rest false, he imagined that the native force of truth would at last break forth

and shine bright if supported only by the strength of argument and attended to with a gentle and unprejudiced mind, while, on the other hand, if such debates were carried on with violence and tumults, as the most wicked are always the most obstinate, so the best and most holy religion might be choked with superstition, as corn is with briars and thorns; he therefore left men wholly free."

While in Utopia they permitted freedom of religious belief and allowed no intolerance, this toleration did not extend to those who were atheists and unbelievers in the immortality of the soul. This unbelief they thought went entirely too far and destroying the sanction for law and order, endangered the state, so that it could not be permitted with safety. Accordingly, while they might believe as they wished, there was this exception:

"Only Utopus made a solemn and severe law against such as should so far degenerate from the dignity of human nature as to think that our souls died with our bodies or that the world was governed by chance without a wise overruling Providence, for they all formerly believed that there was a state of rewards and punishments to the good and bad after this life, and they now look on those that think otherwise as scarce fit to be counted men, since they degrade so noble a being as the soul and reckon it no better than a beast's; thus they are far from looking on such men as fit for human society or to be citizens of a well-ordered Commonweatlh—since a man of such principles must needs, as oft as he dares do it, despise all their laws and customs; for there is no doubt to be made that a man who is afraid of nothing but the law and apprehends nothing after death will not scruple to break through all the laws of his country, either by fraud or force, when by this means he may satisfy his appetite. They never raise any that hold these maxims either to honors or offices nor employ them in any public trust, but despise them as men of base and sordid minds. Yet they do not punish them, because they lay this down as a maxim that a man cannot make himself believe anything he pleases; nor do they drive any to dissemble their thoughts by threatenings, so that men are not tempted to lie or disguise their opinions, which, being a sort of fraud, is abhorred by the Utopians. They take care indeed to prevent their disputing in defense of these opinions, especially before the common people; but they suffer and even encourage them to dispute concerning them in private with their priests and other brave men, being confident that they will be cured of those mad opinions by having reason laid before them."

DEVIOUS DIPLOMACY.

While we have progressed to Utopia's ideas on religious tolera-

tion, there is a very sad reflection for humanity in the passage of "Utopia" in which Sir Thomas More describes in detail the diplomacy of his time. When he wrote his scheme of a happy country he was himself on a sort of diplomatic mission in the Low Countries with Cuthbert Tunstal, who had been the chancellor to the Archbishop of Canterbury and was made master of the rolls in 1516. The avowed purpose of the embassy was to confer with the ambassadors of Charles V., at that time only Archduke of Austria, upon a renewal of the alliance between Henry VIII. and Charles. The ambassador's description of things in Europe as he saw them at the moment might almost be taken as indiscreet in our time, but it is surely a sad, only too true commentary on the morning papers of the month before the war in 1914. More has one of his characters say:

"Do you think that if I were about any king proposing good laws to him and endeavoring to root out all the cursed seeds of evil that I found in him, I should either be turned out of his court, or, at least, be laughed at for my pains? For instance, what could I signify if I were about the King of France and were called into his cabinet council, where several wise men, in his hearing, were proposing many expedients—as by what arts and practices Milan may be kept, and Naples, that has so often slipped out of their hands, recovered; how the Venetians, and after them the rest of Italy, may be subdued, and then how Flanders, Brabant and all Burgundy and some other kingdoms which he has swallowed already in his designs may be added to his empire? One proposes a league with the Venetians—*to be kept as long as he finds his account in it,* and that he ought to communicate counsels with them and give them some share of the spoil till his success makes him need or fear them less, and then it will be easily taken out of their hands; another proposes the hiring the Germans and the securing the Switzers by pensions; another proposes the gaining the Emperor by money, which is omnipotent with him; another proposes a peace with the King of Arragon, and in order to cement it, the yielding up the King of Navarre's pretensions; another thinks that the Prince of Castile is to be wrought on by the hope of an alliance and that some of his courtiers are to be gained to the French faction by pensions. The hardest point of all is what to do with England? A treaty of peace is to be set on foot, and, if their alliance is not to be depended on, yet it is to be made as firm as possible, and they are to be called friends, but suspected as enemies; therefore, the Scots are to be kept in readiness to be let loose upon England on every occasion, and some banished nobleman is to be supported under hand (*for by the league it cannot be done avowedly*), (italics

ours), who has a pretension to the crown, by which means that suspected prince may be kept in awe."

In More's time, then, as in our own, devious were the ways of diplomacy and spying and secret service was the order of the day and the maintenance of reactionary politicians and all the rest was part of the policy of the nation. After thus descanting on it, Hythloday, who has witnessed the simplicities of diplomatic customs in Utopia, asks very frankly what would happen to him if he should ask the Euopean diplomats to give up their duplicity and be straightforward in their relations with others. If he should advise kings to give up all but their own people and let other peoples be ruled in the way they themselves wished and suggest to the King "that he should live among them, governing them gently, loving his people and being loved by them, letting other kingdoms alone, since that which had fallen to his care was big enough, if not too big, for him"—pray, how do you think would such a speech as this be heard?

Would it be heard any differently in our own day—four hundred years later?

PREDATORY WEALTH.

More's characterization of the rich is not very complimentary to those who in his time had attained money, and the most curiously interesting reflection of his opinion of them is that it runs exactly along the same lines of criticism as those which are followed by the thinkers in our time, who condemn our money-getters as probably the most prolific source of our social evils. In my book on "The Century of Columbus," for Sir Thomas More is one of the greatest characters in that marvelously fertile of genius century in the midst of which Columbus discovered America, I ventured to say that perhaps the greatest contribution to social ethics and the solution of social problems in More's "Utopia" is to be found in his emphatic assertion of the right of the laborer to a living wage in the best sense of that much abused term, and his insistent deprecation of the fact that laborers must not be exploited so as to enable a few men to accumulate great wealth that is sure to be abused. More believed in profit-sharing very heartily and had no hesitation in expressing himself. Above all, he deprecates the injustice worked by predatory wealth. It was the judicial mind of the greatest Lord Chancellor England has ever had, who, after speaking of the Utopian state as "that which alone of good right may claim and take upon it the name of Commonwealth," continues:

"Here now would I see, if any man dare be so bold as to compare with this equity, the justice of other nations, among whom

I forsake God if I can find any sign or token of equity and justice. For what justice is this that a rich goldsmith or an usurer, or, to be short, any of them which either do nothing at all, or else that which they do is such that it is not very necessary to the Commonwealth, should have a pleasant and a wealthy living, either by idleness or unnecessary business, when in the meantime poor laborers, carters, ironsmiths, carpenters and ploughmen, by so great and continual toil as drawing and bearing beasts, be scant able to sustain, and again so necessary toil, that without it no Commonwealth were able to continue and endure one year, should get so hard and poor a living and live so wretched and miserable a life that the state and condition of the laboring beasts may seem much better and healthier? . . . And yet besides this the rich men, not only by private fraud, but also by common laws, do every day pluck and snatch away from the poor some part of their daily living. . . . They invent and devise all means and manner of crafts—first, how to keep safely without fear of losing that they have unjustly gathered together and next how to hire and abuse the work and labor of the poor for as little money as may be. These devices, when the rich men have decreed to be kept and observed under color of the commonalty, that is to say, also of the poor people, then they be made laws. . . . *Therefore when I consider and weigh in my mind all these Commonwealths which nowadays anywhere do flourish, so God help me, I can perceive nothing but a certain conspiracy of rich men procuring their own commodities under the name and the title of Commonwealth.*"

THE COST OF HIGH LIVING.

High prices is a subject of particular interest at the present time, and not a few people in our day have called attention to the fact that for a great many it was the cost of high living rather than the high cost of living that was the important factor. The expression is sometimes thought of as distinctly modern, but read "Utopia": "Luxury likewise breaks in apace upon you to set forward your poverty and misery; there is an excessive vanity in apparel and great cost in diet, and that not only in noblemen's families, but even among tradesmen, among the farmers themselves and among all ranks of persons." It is sometimes thought that such expressions are modern and consequent upon the more acute observation and power of drawing conclusions which has come to us as the result of scientific education and the development of ideas with regard to political and domestic economy in our time. If any corrective is needed of this assumption, "Utopia" would teach

us that such observations are the common heritage of mankind at all times.

Sir Thomas suggests a remedy also for the suffering that is occasioned among the poor by high prices. He talks very plainly, more plainly than we might think necessary perhaps, of the fact that "there are many infamous houses, and besides those that are known, the taverns and alehouses are no better." These eat up money and add greatly to suffering. He suggests that "these plagues should be banished." We are still engaged in the banishment process. He suggests that in addition to these, "there are dice and cards and gambling that consume the money of those who can ill afford it, and then football and tennis and quoits, in which money runs fast away until "those that are initiated into them must in the conclusion betake themselves to robbing for a supply." One might almost think so close is the commentary on the morning paper that some of Sir Thomas' friends had lost money because some young fellow in their offices had been "knocking down" in order to get money enough to go to the ball games to bet on them.

More shows by many passages in his book that far from deprecating sports and games and outdoor exercise, on the contrary he believed thoroughly in them, and he describes Utopian interest in them when properly conducted. When he mentions in a contemptuous way, then, football, quoits, tennis and other games, it is not because he considers these trivial and unworthy, but because they were made an occasion by a great many people for excitement, betting, gambling and other undesirable social manifestations. More had no liking at all for the sport taken by proxy. He did not believe in games that attracted great crowds of people, who watched other people play. He felt that sport should be joined in and not merely watched. Whenever people become mere spectators, then various artificial excitements almost inevitably develop, which soon degenerate into real abuses. Above all, the gathering of crowds gives opportunity for the mob spirit to develop, in the midst of which the worst traits rather than the better side of humanity come into play. For crowds are not as good as their best people, but are usually a little worse than the worst people among them in giving way to excitement.

ANTICIPATIONS IN PENOLOGY.

Criminology and the question of the proper treatment of the criminal has, of course, come up in our time, and most people would brush aside any thought of there having been any serious discussion of how to treat criminals four or five hundred years ago with the feeling that at that time no one had ever given the slightest

consideration to such a subject. More shows that he must have given a great deal of thought to it, for there is scarcely a mode of modern criminology that he has not touched upon. He protests against the death penalty for thievery and insists that such extremity of punishment overreaches itself. "It is plain and obvious that it is absurd and of ill consequence to the Commonwealth that a thief and a murderer should be equally punished; for if a robber sees that his danger is the same, if he is convicted of theft, as if he were guilty of murder, this will naturally incite him to kill the person whom otherwise he would only have robbed; since if the punishment is the same, there is more security and less danger of discovery when he that can best make it is put out of the way." He believed thoroughly in the death penalty for murder, however, and would probably have argued with regard to our time, when it is said that only two per cent. of our murderers are put to death; that we have gone to just the opposite extreme and are encouraging crime.

For repeated thefts More tells of the value of indeterminate sentences, during which the thieves should be compelled to work enough to pay back the money that they have stolen. "They are treated in such a manner as to make them see the necessity of being honest and of employing the rest of their lives in repairing the injury they had formerly done to society." They were not kept in jails, but were allowed to go out to occupation on public works or they were hired out to those who needed workmen. "Besides their livelihood, they earned somewhat still to the public." They wore a particular kind of clothes and their hair was cropped a little above their ears, so as to make them easily recognizable, and repeated offenders had a piece of one of their ears cut off, to make recognition doubly sure. The method of treating criminals was so successful that "so little do travelers apprehend mischief from them, that they generally make use of them for guides from one jurisdiction to another."

I need scarcely say that the idea of repayment of money that has been stolen or the price of valuables that have been taken is one of the most valued of thoughts in modern penology. It is felt that nothing will so deter men from taking what does not belong to them as the thought that the owner will have to be repaid before they can be free from punishment. The indeterminate sentence made freedom depend on good behavior. "None are quite hopeless of recovering their freedom since by their obedience and patience and by giving good grounds to believe that they will change their manner of life for the future they may expect at last to obtain their liberty, and some are every year restored to it upon the good character that is given them."

Sir Thomas More had no delusions with regard to the necessity of punishment, and yet with that marvelous insight of his he perceived very clearly that there were elements in the criminality of men which deserved sympathy and that could be better corrected by proper understanding than by vindictiveness. He was probably looked upon as over-sympathetic to the criminal in his time, but he did see the terms of the problem very clearly, even as clearly as we do. He even hints of how much responsibility society has for many of the criminals that it has to punish, though he does not impugn their heredity so much as their unfortunate environment. He puts the blame on bad education and wrong upbringing for not a little of the crime. He says (p. 32): "For if you suffer your people to be ill educated and their manners to be corrupted from their infancy and then punish them for those crimes to which their first education disposed them, what else is to be concluded from this but that you first make thieves and then punish them?"

Idleness as perhaps the most important predisposing factor to crime was a favorite idea of Sir Thomas More. He felt, however, that one very important factor in evil was the sight forced upon poorer people of the rich using the power of their wealth to do what was manifestly unjust and yet getting round the law. He said: "Restrain those engrossings of the rich that are as bad almost as monopolies." See that everybody works and that there are no idle livers, neither poor nor rich. "Leave fewer occasions to idleness." Then set the tide of population back toward the country again. "Let agriculture be set up again and the manufacture of the wood be regulated that so there may be work found for those companies of idle people whom want forces to be thieves or who now, being idle vagabonds or useless servants in the cities, will certainly grow thieves at last." He considers that the correction of these evils is the most important thing for the reformation of mankind. Elsewhere his ideas on penology are given, and associated with that should be this thought with regard to the place of poverty, idleness and above all monopoly in producing criminals.

CONVENIENCES AND COMFORTS.

There are some of the descriptions of construction work in "Utopia" that must make the mouths of modern contractors and builders water. For instance, "Their roofs are flat, and on them they lay a sort of plaster which costs little and yet is so tempered that it is not apt to take fire and yet resist the weather more than lead." Then there were gardens behind all their houses, the buildings being built all around the blocks, with the gardens in the centre, "so that every house has both a door to the street and a

back door to the garden." Each family had a garden for itself, but was required to devote a certain amount of space in it for flowers as well as for fruits, herbs and wines. The relator in "Utopia" says: "I never saw gardens anywhere that were both so fruitful and so beautiful as those." There was an emulation between the different families in this regard and competition between the different blocks and prizes and distinctions were given, so that the element of friendly rivalry entered in in order to arouse energy and stimulate industry.

Their doors also have two leaves, which "as they are easily opened, so they shut of their own accord." These doors were all without locks, "and there being no property among them, every man may enter freely into any house whatsoever." Modern exclusiveness would be seriously shocked by this. "At every ten years' end they shift their houses by lots." This is in order to provide change of scene and variety for all and so that no one might become so attached to a particular place as to feel that he had a right to it. As all the houses were so uniform that "a whole side of a street looks like one house," there was no preference in the matter, though doubtless what one had become used to had an attraction of its own. They had great quantities of glass, a material that was not common in England in More's time, but was replaced to a great extent by another material, which in Utopia was said also to be rather abundant—"a thin linen cloth in their windows, that is so oiled or gummed that it both keeps out the wind and gives free admission to the light."

MODERN HOSPITALS IN UTOPIA.

To many people in our time it will seem most amazing that in Utopia as More tells the story their hospitals were so good that people generally when they fell ill preferred to go to them to be nursed and cared for rather than to be taken care of at home. This is, of course, the condition of affairs that actually obtains with us at the present time, but the people of our generation generally have been inclined to think of this happy state of affairs as a very modern development, due doubtless to the evolution of mankind in thoughtfulness for others. Our modern hospitals were so unspeakably bad even a brief generation ago as to make old time hospitals seem a disgrace, for in the seventies of the last century the nurses at Bellevue Hospital were mainly the "ten day women," that is, such women as had been condemned to the workhouse for ten days for being drunk and disorderly and who, if they had any family experience in nursing, had their sentences commuted so that they might act as nurses in the hospital for a month. With this in mind,

it seems as though the older hospitals must have been absolutely impossible.

As a matter of fact, however, in describing the hospitals in "Utopia," More is only telling the story of some of the things that he had actually seen on the continent, though, of course, he combines the features of a number of hospitals in order to create his ideals in "Utopia." When he stopped at Bruges More had surely seen the hospital of St. Jean, with its beautiful gardens surrounded by water and its magnificent old buildings. They were very different from our modern hospitals until this last few years, for the worst hospitals in the world were built during the early part of the nineteenth century. To any one who knows the history of hospitals and above all who realizes that even the magnificent hospital that More described, more like a town than a hospital, is after all only a description down to date of St. Basil's Hospital at Cesarea, which was actually called Newtown, it was so extensive the Utopian hospital will not be an unattainable ideal, but only a reminder from history of the development of fine Christian charity. With this in mind, More's description is easy to understand and loses most of its apparent idealization.

"But they take more care of their sick than of any others; these are lodged and provided for in public hospitals. They have belonging to every town four hospitals, that are built without their walls, and are so large that they may pass for little towns. By this means, if they had ever such a number of sick persons, they could lodge them conveniently, and at such a distance that such of them as are sick of infectious diseases may be kept so far from the rest that there can be no danger of contagion. The hospitals are furnished and stored with all things that are convenient for the ease and recovery of the sick; and those that are put in them are looked after with such tender and watchful care and are so constantly attended by their skillful physicians that as none are sent to them against their will, so there is scarce one in a whole town that, if he should fall ill, would not choose rather to go thither than lie sick at home."

ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY.

Sir Thomas More was far ahead of his time in many of his practical conclusions. His common sense enabled him to appreciate the real significance or lack of significance of many things that others were misunderstanding or exaggerating. For instance, he says very emphatically that while the Utopians "knew astronomy and were perfectly acquainted with the motions of the heavenly bodies and were possessed of many instruments well contrived and

celebrated, by which they very accurately compute the course and positions of the sun, moon and stars, but for the cheat of divining by the stars, by their oppositions or conjunctions, it has not so much as entered into their thoughts."

The significance of a remark of this kind is greatly enhanced by the fact that in spite of Copernicus' researches and great new theory which was elaborated in More's time, but only announced and not yet published to the world, astrology still continued to occupy the minds of a great many educated people, even mathematicians and astronomers, for fully a century and a half after his time. It is a matter of great surprise to find that Galileo more than a century later worked out a horoscope for the Duke of Tuscany, according to which that potentate by the same token was to live for a very long time in happiness and health, though, as a matter of fact, he died a very brief interval afterwards. Keppler also made horoscopes, and though he declared that their significance and value was more than dubious, he was paid so much more for making a horoscope than for making important astronomical discoveries or for teaching mathematics and astronomy, that in order to make a living he continued to provide them for noble patrons, who thus hoped to obtain the assurance of long life and happiness.

Even in the eighteenth century Mesmer, the famous charlatan, to whose name we owe the term mesmerism and who attracted so much attention by his cures of all sorts of things by what was supposed to be animal magnetism, wrote a thesis for the University of Vienna for his doctorate in medicine on the influence of the stars on human constitutions, and it was accepted quite seriously by the learned faculty. In our time astrology is not yet dead. There are a number of astrological journals published and a number of dupes who have their horoscopes made, just as others have their palms read, and still others have their heads phrenologically examined, and still others have their fortunes told in many other ways. There are just as many dupes now as there ever were. Four hundred years ago Sir Thomas More was emphasizing how his Utopians rejected such absurd trifling with mysteries of the universe and of life, but the time when men will be wise enough to reject such nonsense utterly will probably never come.

EUGENIC MARRIAGES.

Probably the most startling passage in "Utopia" for modern readers is that in which, quite in line with some modern eugenic suggestions as to the taking out of health certificates after a medical examination before marriage, the laws of Sir Thomas More's "Nowhere" required that young folks should have an opportunity

to see each other naked in order that there might not be any imposition practiced. The subject is introduced rather apologetically and somewhat deprecatingly, as if, of course, other peoples could scarcely be expected to imitate the simple naturalness of the Utopians in this matter, but at least it is interesting to realize that the subject had been not only thought about, but that the problem which underlies it had actually been thought out more than four centuries ago. The passage runs (p. 135):

"In choosing a wife they use a method that would appear to us very absurd and ridiculous, but it is constantly observed among them and is accounted perfectly consistent with wisdom. Before marriage some grave matron presents the bride, naked, whether she is a virgin or widow, to the bridegroom, and after that some grave man presents the bridegroom, naked, to the bride. We, indeed, both laughed at this and condemned it as very indecent. But they, on the other hand, wondered at the folly of the men of all other nations, who, if they are but to buy a horse of a small value, are so cautious that they will see every part of him and take off both his saddle and all his other tackle, that there may be no secret ulcer hid under any of them, and that yet in the choice of a wife, on which depends the happiness or unhappiness of the rest of his life, a man should venture upon trust, and only see about a handsbreadth of the face, all the rest of the body being covered, under which may lie hid what may be *contagious* as well as loathsome. All men are not so wise as to choose a woman only for her good qualities, and even wise men consider the body as that which adds not a little to the mind, and it is certain there may be some such deformity covered with clothes as may totally alienate a man from his wife when it is too late to part with her. If such a thing is discovered after marriage, a man has no remedy but patience; they, therefore, think it is reasonable that there should be good provision made against such mischievous frauds."

PREACHING AND PRACTICE.

The secret of "Utopia" is probably best revealed in the fact that more than one editor of it has called attention to the somewhat unusual circumstance perhaps that Sir Thomas More was a philosopher who practiced what he preached. He lived the life of simplicity, directness, unselfishness that he described in his "Nowhere." Maurice Adams in his introduction to the Camelot edition of "Utopia" says (p. 553): "Utopia was but the author's home writ large. His beautiful house, on the riverside at Chelsea, was, through his delight in social life and music and through the wit and merriment of his nature, a dwelling of joy and mirth as well

as of study and thought. It often rang with song and was cheery with the laughter of children and grandchildren, he himself, in his own words, 'being merry, jocund and pleasant among them.' Erasmus, who was often his guest, has given us many delightful glimpses of his family life and his children and their tasks, and the monkey and rabbits which amused their leisure. To the solitary and ever-wandering Erasmus, More's house was a haven of refuge from the discomforts and vexations of his bachelor existence. In one of his epistles he writes: 'More has built near London, upon the Thames, a modest yet commodious mansion. There he lives, surrounded by his numerous family, including his wife, his son and his son's wife, his three daughters and their husbands, with eleven grandchildren. There is not any man living so affectionate to his children as he, and he loveth his old wife as if she were a girl of fifteen. Such is the excellence of his disposition that whatever happeneth that could not be helped, he is as cheerful and well pleased as though the best thing possible had been done. In More's house you would say that Plato's academy was revived again, only, whereas, in the academy the discussion turned upon geometry and the power of numbers, the house at Chelsea is a veritable school of Christian religion. In it is none, man or woman, but readeth or studieth the liberal arts, yet is their chief care of piety. There is never any seen idle; the head of the house governs it, not only by a lofty carriage and oft rebukes, but by gentleness and amiable manners. Every member is busy in his place, performing his duty with alacrity; nor is sober mirth wanting."

CONTEMPORARY APPRECIATION.

At least there is some consolation in knowing that during his lifetime More was thoroughly appreciated by those who knew him best and above all by those whose opinion was most worth while in their time. We know the high appreciation in which Cardinal Morton held him as a youth, and something at least of what Bishop Fisher thought of him as the years went on. Surely the praise of such men might well overweigh a whole world of others. To Erasmus he was a very dear friend, beloved and admired, even, one might well say, reverenced. Those of us who have come to know how little there was in the quality of reverence in that scholarly mechanism so purely intellectual which constituted Erasmus can well judge that its manifestation in More's regard meant a very great deal. King Henry VIII. appreciated him very highly until the inevitable woman in the case brought a change of conduct toward him in the hope that severity might win where friendship had failed and years of intimacy could not weigh against

conscience. That it brought no change of opinion may be realized from the fact established by sound tradition that when the news was brought to the monarch that More's head had fallen, he was with Anne Boleyn. He turned aside, a change came over him and it was evident as he left her that he had suffered severely.

As to what the greatest ruler of the time, the Emperor Charles V., ruled most of Europe and nearly all of America in his time and knew men so well and thought of him can be very well appreciated in the last paragraph of Roper More's son-in-law's account of what the Emperor said to the English Ambassador when he heard the news that More had been beheaded. That paragraph surely makes a fitting ending to an article on "Utopia" written on the four hundredth anniversary of the publication of the book:*

"Soon after whose (More's) death came intelligence thereof to the Emperor Charles, whereupon he sent for Sir Thomas Eliott, our English Ambassador, and said unto him, 'My Lord Ambassador, we understand that the King, your master, hath put his faithful servant and grave wise Councillor, Sir Thomas More, to death?' Whereunto Sir Thomas Eliott answered that he understood nothing thereof. 'Well,' said the Emperor, 'it is very true, and this will we say, that if we had been master of such a servant, of whose doings ourselves have had these many years no small experience, we would rather have lost the best city of our dominions than have lost such a worthy Councillor.'"

James J. Walsh.

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*Camelot, p. 61.

JOHN DRYDEN.

WE scrutinize a poet whose name is generally taken to designate his age. John Dryden, born in 1631, began serious composition almost at the exact date of the Restoration and died at the close of the century. Almost coincident with his death was the appearance of Congreve's "Way of the World," which set a new dramatic fashion. Because of these accidental correspondences between his literary period and the space of years from the return of Charles II. to the beginning of the new hundred years, it has been found convenient to speak of this time as "the age of Dryden." Yet the appellation must be granted much more of justice than the mere foundation of chance, for it can scarcely be questioned that Dryden absolutely dominated literary production during most of those forty years.

We are discussing, then, a man whose name will perhaps never die. Nevertheless, Dryden had a host of enemies and was as often blamed as praised. After graduating from Trinity College, Cambridge, and receiving the usual thorough classical education, we find him writing a poem to Cromwell in 1659, hailing the Lord Protector as a preserver of peace, as a creator of order out of chaos, and then, in 1660 ("Astræa Redux"), praising the return of the Stuarts and the royal establishment. These things were seized upon by later assailants as early instances of time-serving. But Dr. Johnson replied to them: "The reproach of inconstancy was, on this occasion, shared with such numbers that it produced neither hatred nor disgrace; if he changed, he changed with the nation. It was, however, not totally forgotten when his reputation raised him enemies." And a more recent critic has pointed out that the "Lord Protector" poem merely praised the security made certain by Cromwell, not Cromwell himself, and that the praise of Charles II. was therefore naturally due to a monarch who promised a further increase in governmental stability.[1]

Then when James II. came to the throne Dryden became a Catholic, an action which drew on him more condemnations from his contemporaries,[2] but which was defended even by Dr. Johnson. Many other people have assailed Dryden on this score. They have

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[1] R. K. Root: "Dryden's Conversion to the Roman Catholic Faith." Publications of the Modern Language Association, 1907.

[2] "The Reasons of Mr. Bays [Dryden] changing his Religion. Considered in a Dialogue between Crites, Eugenius and Mr. Bays." By Thomas Brown, London, 1688.

pointed out that "Absalom and Achitophel" (1681), in spite of its famous line,

"Such an omniscient Church we wish indeed,"

had compared the two religions to the advantage of the Anglican and the disadvantage of the Catholic. And they have pointed out also that "Religio Laici" (1682) and his stated change in religious belief concur very closely with what must at that time have been Dryden's material interest. On the death of D'Avenant he had succeeded to the laureateship,[3] and his interests and those of the court were very nearly identical. Yet the latest dictum on this very delicate subject says:

"An attempt to prove that Dryden's conversion was due, not as Macaulay and others have maintained, to an unworthy desire to ingratiate himself at court, nor yet, as Johnson and Scott believed, to any deep religious conviction, but rather to a sincere political conviction that an infallible Church offered the only permanent safeguard against dissension and civil war."[4]

We find several more incongruities in this matter. The first of these contradictory facts is the play "The Spanish Friar" (1681), an unchaste thing where religion and rogues go together and a huge, fat religious gentleman does things no Catholic sympathizer would make him do, a play which for its lewdness justly deserved the condemnation of Jeremy Collier, and lastly a play dedicated as "a Protestant play to a Protestant patron." In the same vein was "The Assignation; or, Love in a Nunnery" (1673), equally bad, of which, as Mr. Saintsbury has remarked, "nobody has ever been able to say much good."[5] On the other hand is the obvious sincerity of a man who brought up three sons in the religion which he himself had embraced in middle age, and there is the fact that, when he professed Catholicism, he did not pretend to have changed in his conceptions of the fundamental doctrines of the Christian Church. "Again, "we know that Dryden's several productions were so many successive expedients for his own support," and that "Religio Laici" was his only work which seems to have come from his heart and not from a calculating mind seeking for remuneration. There is no possibility of proving that Dryden would have lost by remaining an Anglican, nor that

[3] See "Dryden: Poet Laureate," *The Nation*, vol. 98, p. 751.

[4] R. K. Root, Op. cit. iv.

[5] We may likewise cite Lyndaraxa's lines from "The Conquest of Granada" (1672), Part II., Act II. Scene 2, beginning "O Lottery of Fate," and a slighting reference to ostentatious priests" in "Marriage à la Mode" (1673), Act iv., Scene 5.

he actually gained by changing. He took a risk of losing by some new sudden change of royalties—as in fact he did lose his laureateship in 1689. He swept his stakes on the table, and with the common fortune of gamblers was content to hear his fortune cursed and his faults arraigned and to suffer both without further reply.[6]

Dryden's life was, in effect, rather a sad one. If in religious matters he kept his own counsel, in literary affairs he showed an almost malignant impatience. He assailed his assailants unremittingly, hesitating not to attack such, even of the nobility, as dared to attack him. But slowly he was supplanted on the dramatic stage by persons far inferior in ability and forced to devote much of his time to political satire. Nowadays a man asks: "Who was that man who quarreled with Dryden?" and when the answer comes, "Elkanah Settle!" inevitably all but professional literary historians have to query, "Who was he?" These were days of bitter literary feuds, in which personal attacks supplemented poetical asperities. For instance, Sir William D'Avenant had the ill luck to lose his nose, and was satirized on that account even by his friends. So one night as Dryden was returning from Will's Coffee House he was set upon and beaten by hired ruffians.

Yet, with the pen, Dryden gave blow for blow, buffet for buffet. "The Hind and the Panther" (1687) was as vigorous an attack as any man could want, and "The Medal" (1682) spared no feelings. In "MacFlecknoe" (1682), however, he outdid himself, for that poem was not merely an answer to Shadwell's repeated attacks upon his literary reputation, his political principles and his moral character, but stands as the perfect model of vindictiveness, after which the even more vindictive Alexander Pope was content to pattern his more famous, but more diffuse "Dunciad."[7]

Times change and favor departs: the favor of courts and the constancy of public applause. As Sir Walter Scott has enumerated them, Dryden had to write and find commendation under three diverse British kings, "the needy Charles, who loved literary merit without rewarding it; the saturnine James, who rewarded it without loving it; and the phlegmatic William, who did neither the one nor the other." In years which stretched from the days of the Protectorate, through the reign of "the Merry Monarch" and that of the over-zealous James, over "the glorious Revolution" and into the establishment of the Hanoverian kings, Dryden lived

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[6] I should go more deeply into this matter had not Mr. Root already done it before me.

[7] See "Dryden in The Dunciad," *The Nation*, vol. 98, p. 568.

and worked.[8] And finally when change of fortune drove him in turn even from the arena of poetical satire he turned to the art and business of translation. To him it was the art of translation, for in his many long prefaces, in the length of which he has scarcely been excelled except by Mr. Shaw, Dryden shows a clear consciousness of the difficulties and the dignities of his task. He establishes certain principles to which he tried to conform; no man was more exacting in his theories, which are still quoted with approval. To him it was the business of translation, for by it he had to earn the wherewithal to pay the butcher, the baker and the candlestick-maker. Scarcely has Charles Lamb's statement been better vindicated than by this gigantic example—that though literature may serve very well for a staff, it will hardly serve as a crutch. Many men in many ages have tried to live exclusively by what profit their pens might earn, and in most cases the declining years were tinged by the sadness of unproductive and exhaustive genius which is harmed and harried by being continually urged on and on for mere pecuniary remuneration. Sheridan is a great example. In Dryden's own age, or to use a professorial phrase, in the Age of Dryden, Shirley spent his later years doing mere drudge-work in translation for the bookseller Ogilby, and Elkanah Settle—who had answered "Absalom and Achitophel" (1681) and "The Medal" (1682) with no mean success—died forgotten in a hospital after spending his declining years contriving shows for fairs and peddling occasional verses to families who could pay for commemorative poems on weddings or funerals. So with Dryden. Sick, discouraged, half-despised and half-forgotten, he died—by a strange irony for a pathetic scene—on May Day, 1701. No man may say exactly how much truth there is in the wild tale repeated by Congreve[9] concerning disputes and disagreements as to the manner and the circumstances of his burial. It may be true that these things happened as Congreve related them. It is at least true that he lay for a long time in an unmarked grave in Westminster Abbey until the Duke of Buckinghamshire gave him a tablet inscribed only with the name of DRYDEN.

[8] Mr. Saintsbury's biography in the "English Men of Letters" Series, the articles in the "Dictionary of National Biography" and "The Cambridge History of English Literature" are replete in details. There is a more popular survey in a more recent book, "The Poets Laureate of England," by W. Forbes Gray. Bibliographical data are to be found in the above, in "Catalogue of Dryden Exhibition" (1900), by the Grolier Club, in the introduction to the Everyman "Dramatic Essays," and in "A Cheer List of Dryden's Plays" in "*The Bibliographer*," November, 1902 (vol. I., p. 374).

[9] In his biography of Dryden.

The reputation which is attached to that name rests chiefly upon a few plays and upon a great many of which these few are the type. The "Restoration Drama" is characterized and dominated by Dryden. To appreciate him you must know the temper of the whole time, and in this century we are too forgetful of the days of the second Charles and the second James. It is, as Mr. P. P. Howe has said, a minor irony of our English-speaking theatre that the drama called "Restoration" should be itself in need of restoration to favor. "It is more than a little ironic that the very plays with which the English theatre broke its Puritan-imposed silence should be now the plays on which a silence is imposed." When the words of D'Avenant were being neglected, Dryden—who knew him as a collaborator[10] and revered him as a humble disciple should revere a master—continued the things which Sir William had revived, and established the type of the heroic play. In the preface to "The Conquest of Granada" (1672) he said: "Love and valor ought to be the subject," and then pointed out that the play that was heroic was but a stage representation of the already existing heroic poem. In the preface to "Aurengzebe" (1676) he even boasts that he has created the characters in that drama the nearest they could possibly be made to those of the heroic poem. D'Avenant used verse, but it was Dryden who boldly claimed, "Serious plays ought to be raised above the level of prose. . . . Heroic verse is already in possession of the stage."[11]

The main characteristics of these plays have already been seen in D'Avenant—to some degree at least—but they may be applied particularly to those which are most frequently cited as examples. There had been in the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher and in those of Shirley intrigues in high places, but it is not until we get to D'Avenant's "Siege of Rhodes" (1656), Dryden's "Conquest of Granada" (1672) and his "Aurengzebe" (1676) and to Otway's "Venice Preserved" (1682) that we see again the representation of battles and the frequent use of drums and trumpets which had existed in the early chronicle-history plays and in Shakespeare. Personal affairs are made to complicate international affairs, and ordinary amorous emotions to determine the making and breaking of national allegiances as much in Dryden's "Conquest of Granada" (1672) as in D'Avenant's "Love and Honor" (1661). These, though, are not the mere allegories of the fall of princes or tragedies of the unfortunate great. The heroes are heroic, each is

[10] See the adaptation of "The Tempest," played November, 1667.
[11] Preface to "The Conquest of Granada," (1672).

the soul of honor. Gone is the lascivious love of the early Jacobeans:

"Honor's the only idol of his eyes;
The claims of beauty like a pest he flies."

The brotherly self-sacrifice in Otway's play, "The Orphan" (1680) is equaled if not outdone in "The Conquest of Granada" (1672), when Almanzor frees his captive Almahide, although he loves her, and when Boabdelin later frees his rival, Almanzor, and gives him to the loving, but repining Almahide. That the notorious Nell Gwyn appeared in this play in a broad-brimmed hat and a waist-belt: not even this can detract from the heroic effectiveness of the ideal. The hero is superb, "the soul of honor," as I have said, and his conquering individuality stands forth like a bright comet against a midnight sky. He joins himself to the weaker side in combat, and the weaker side forthwith becomes the stronger. He is the subject for Henley's lines, he is the master of his fate:

". . . one great soul
Whose single force can multitudes control."

And if he seems to boast too loudly at times of his own ability,

"The Moors have heaven, and me, to assist their cause,"

he yet declares:

"If I am proud, 'tis only to my foes."

It is not ambition which drives him on; it is merely his unconquerable soul which bows to none and always upholds the right.

When finally this superhuman creature betrays one mortal weakness, saying:

"Love has undone me,"

he has revealed another characteristic of these plays. In them love is not a mere passion; it is a noble emotion, almost conforming to the definition of Ben Jonson, "the right affection of the mind, the noble appetite of what is best." Before the haughty heroine alone will he bow, the haughty heroine with alabaster brow and breast of stone. This lover's passion is a high and mighty sort of thing which interferes with the cause of nations, which coincides with the guest of honor at war without selfish ambition:

"Your beauty, as it moves no common fire,
So it no common courage can inspire.

As he fought well, so had he prospered, too,
If, madam, he, like me, had fought for you."

The faults of these plays lie in the very exaltation of their tone. They are unnatural. They are artificial, with a form which many men in many decades have felt was improperly imposed upon them from the French[12] as a result of the royal exile at the Parisian court.[13] Yet they have a merit all their own, a quaintness and a charm, an almost mechanical beauty. They are put together from numerous sources, but shaped in a new mould. In fact, the King was not far wrong when to those who charged Dryden with plagiarism "he only desired that they who accused Dryden of thefts would steal him plays like these." We close this brief praise of Dryden's plays, then, with quotation of a passage from "Aurengzebe" (1675), which has been praised by the author of the *Spectator* papers and by the thundering Dr. Johnson, who did not always approve of Dryden, and which certainly is "The Vanity of Human Wishes" or "Rasselas" in a nutshell:

"When I consider life, 'tis all a cheat;
Yet, fooled with hope, men favour the deceit;
Trust on, and think to-morrow will repay:
To-morrow's falser than the former day;
Lies worse, and, while it says, we shall be blest
With some new joys, cuts off what we possesst.
Strange cozenage! None would live past years again,
Yet all hope pleasure in what yet remain;
And, from the dregs of life, think to receive,
What the first sprightly running could not give.
I'm tired with waiting for this chemic gold,
Which fools us young, and beggars us when old."

It was in the form of prefaces to these plays and others that Dryden published the prose writing which has entitled him to one of the most prominent places as a creator of modern English prose style.[14] Save for a very slight tendency toward the balanced construction—a tendency not nearly so outrageous as in Lyly and

[12] A chance line, though in a character who is being ridiculed, may be quoted from "Marriage à la Mode" (1673): "I'd sacrifice my life for French poetry."

[13] It must be remembered that decent tradesmen, professional men and bankers could not be seen at the theatre—through prejudice—and that the audience was consequently chiefly aristocratic.

[14] See W. E. Bolen, "Development of Dryden's Literary Criticism," Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass'n., 1907, and "Dryden as a Prose Writer," Catholic University Bulletin, March, 1914.

Sidney, in Bacon or Milton—we might easily mistake his for modern writing. There is ease and decision, and variety, too, in his paragraphs. There is wealth of well-rounded thought, not barely expressed, and sufficient quantity of allusion and quotation to lend richness and strength without too much encumbrance. He had read sufficiently to provide this detail, but he also provided a classical inclination. In the preface to "Troilus and Cressida" (1679) he found fault with earlier versions of the story because in them false Cressida went unpunished. This would never do. The old dramatic rules and regulations were as moral as they were strict, and Dryden meant to abide by the old rules and regulations. In the well-known "Essay of Dramatic Poesy" (1668) he defends the unities; in the preface to "The Mock Astrologer" (1671) he shows a reasonably wide knowledge of the drama, and on the basis of his study declares against extravagance in comedy and in tragedy; and in the preface to "Troilus and Cressida" (1679) he boasts—not without some condemnation of Shakespeare—that he has maintained due consideration for the unity of place and the proportion of time, and will have "no leaping from Troy to the Grecian tent, and back again, in the same act." It is not surprising, therefore, to find him deploring Beaumont and Fletcher and praising Ben Jonson, who, he says, "is to be admired for many excellencies, and can be taxed with fewer failings than any English poet." Shakespeare he admired as a great genius who "had a universal mind" and criticized as a violator of laws of the stage.[15] He also adapted from him and was frank enough to say that where he imitated Shakespeare he excelled himself by so doing.[16] There is more in these estimates than Dryden's mere opinion; there is a shadow of the theory of his own art, for he himself said that the prefaces so laboriously written had instructed the public to a level where he could not attain. But Dryden firmly believed the Restoration age superior to that of Shakespeare; the master dramatist of Elizabethan drama was to him very nearly the same "great barbarian" as to the later eighteenth century:

"If Shakespeare were stripped of all the bombasts in his passions, and dressed in the most vulgar words, we should find the beauties of his thoughts remaining; if his embroideries were burnt down, there would still be silver at the bottom of the melting pot;

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[15] Preface to "Troilus and Cressida" (1679).

[16] Preface to "All For Love" (1678). Lyndaraxa in "The Conquest of Granada," (1672) is somewhat similar to Lady Macbeth, save in being ambitious only for herself. (See Part II., Act II., Scene 3). In the same play is "a wood of lances and a moving war" and Macbeth is quoted in "Marriage à la Mode."

but I fear (at least let me fear it for myself) that we, who ape his sounding words, have nothing of his thought, but are all outside; there is not so much as a dwarf within our giant's clothes. Therefore, let not Shakespeare suffer for our sakes; 'tis our fault, who succeed him in an age which is more refined, if we imitate him so ill that we copy his failings only and make a virtue of that in our writings which in his was an imperfection."

Here is the dramatist turned critic, or—more significantly—the critic turned dramatist, and no man would agree more readily to condemn his own improprieties and barbarisms than Dryden himself. He who was one of the first to do anything like, to suggest anything like, an historical method of criticism, felt that his age inherited the virtues of past ages, the perfections of form, the niceties of expression and the niceties of moral endings. He considered this a great advantage, that he and his contemporaries lived in a time when the language, wit and conversation were improved and refined over those of times that had gone before. Dryden agreed that it is not unreasonable to expect their plays to derive some advantage from this general advancement. Certain it is that whatever may be said in detraction of his over-refined dramas,[17] his prose has richness and flavor that place it for all time among the best specimens of dramatic criticism in any language. The words of Dr. Johnson are as just as they are final:

"The criticism of Dryden is the criticism of a poet; not a dull collection of theorems, nor a rude detection of faults, which perhaps the censor was able to have committed, but a gay and vigorous dissertation, where delight is mingled with instruction and where the author proves his right of judgment by his power of performance. . . . With Dryden we are wandering in quest of Truth, whom we find, if we find her at all, dressed in the graces of elegance, and if we miss her, the labor of the pursuit rewards itself; we are led only through fragrance and flowers."

What though they seem too much the flowers of the hothouse? Even in their artificiality they are exquisite.

FRANCIS PAUL.

[17] Congreve said: "We refine upon our pleasures." It was the spirit of the age.

CARDINAL GUIBERT.

III.

GLANCING, at the close of 1860, at the events of the past months, Monsignor Guibert wrote: "When I decided to take up a different attitude towards the Government from that which I had hitherto preserved, it was because I saw clearly and pointedly that the Church was betrayed under seeming respect and devotedness, whether this system was the consequence of previous engagements or personal fear, or, which seemed to me more probable, of theories conceived in the head of a prince who thinks he has received the mission of reforming society and the Church at the same time." More fuel was thrown upon the fires of political controversy when, in February, 1861, appeared Arthur de la Gueronnière's pamphlet, "La France, Rome, et l'Italie," which contained a slighting appreciation of the Papal policy and the fullest approval of that of the Second Empire; the Pope being charged with being the real cause of his own misfortunes by taking sides against France and obstinately and unreasonably refusing to grant the just reforms demanded by his people; while the French episcopate was accused of letting itself be dominated by political parties." The Archbishop of Tours, in a letter to the Pope, protested against a publication which was like a semi-official manifesto foreshadowing sinister events, and against the project of reducing the Papal Power to a purely nominal sovereignty, which would never guarantee the independence necessary to the head of the Church. This letter afforded great consolation to the much-tried Pontiff who was to suffer more at the hands of the House of Savoy, verifying the legend in St. Malachy's prophecy—*crux de cruce*. Not content with this, Monsignor Guibert went to Rome to give the Pontiff more sensible evidence of his filial attachments. The Holy Father, a pathetic figure like all those who in history are fated to stand at the parting of the ways—at the transition from an older to a newer order of things—never appeared to him more majestic and amiable. "God, who is with him," he wrote on his return, "knows how to proportion His graces to perils; He raises the courage of His vicar to the height of his trials. I can never forget the sublime picture it has been given to me to contemplate in the private audiences to which the Holy Father deigned to admit me. No one can ever see anything in the world worthier of admiration and respect. What tranquillity! what patience! what resignation! It is impossible he could be more master of himself and every emotion of his soul. One

scarcely discerns in his serene countenance the trace of a calm, sweet sadness, which adds to the nobleness of his features. It is clearly seen that his mind is elevated above terrestrial regions, and that his only reliance is in the thoughts of faith and in the promise of Jesus Christ. His mildness is what is most opposed to weakness, and the firmness of his character is at an infinite distance from what is called obstinacy. His virtue is not a showy virtue; it is simple, natural, unaffected. His generous heart has never known anything but love, forgiveness and charity. No one could ever by chance hear from his lips a bitter word for his enemies: he bewails them, but he loves them and prays for them."

This independent attitude of Monsignor Guibert, which was that of the majority of the French episcopate, irritated the Government which sought to intimidate and silence the Bishops; M. Delangle, Keeper of the Seals, addressing a circular to the public prosecutors relative to "the misdemeanors ecclesiastics may commit in the exercise of their functions." The Archbishop of Tours protested in a letter to the Minister of Public Worship, which was applauded by the whole Catholic world. Many Bishops, ecclesiastical conferences and prominent laymen, including General Lamoricière and Louis Veuillot, wrote to the intrepid writer to congratulate and encourage him. But when the Government disregarded these protestations, Monsignor Guibert assembled the Bishops of his province and addressed a letter to the Emperor in their name, in which he reaffirmed and demonstrated the utility of the temporal power and unmasked the hypocritical intentions of the enemies of the Papacy; a courageous proceeding of which the Pope approved. In February, 1862, he again went to Rome, and was cordially greeted by Pius IX., who seemed quite decided to part with the last company of the army of occupation. After his return, he issued another long pastoral on the affairs of the Church in which he again defended the temporal power. His language and action all through this episode must obliterate the impression that there existed any latent tinge of Gallicanism or Cisalpine ideas in his mind; for no one could have been more pronouncedly ultramontane.

The conflict between the episcopate and Government in France was becoming more acute. Their relations were strained to the utmost tension when, in 1863, the Archbishops of Cambrai, Tours and Rennes, and the Bishops of Metz, Nantes, Orleans and Chartres published in the "Monde" a collective reply to Catholics who had consulted them regarding their conduct at the approaching elections. Minister Rouland wrote to them that the Government would forbid the publication in the press of any deliberation

emanating from the assembled Bishops without legal authorization. To this the Archbishop of Tours, who was the inspirer and mouthpiece of the Bishops, replied in a letter to the Minister, in which he said: "The danger to the Government is not where you see it: it is where you do not see it. The Bishops desire order; they respect authority, which is the principal foundation of society. The hand of the Church has never been seen in revolutions. You will do well to direct your attention and solicitude elsewhere." Despite his pacific dispositions, he was prosecuted for his public acts. The consultation of the seven Bishops and his letter to the Minister of Public Worship were delated to the Council of State as cases of an alleged abuse of ecclesiastical authority. Meanwhile he scored a triumph over his opponents, for the portfolio of Worship was transferred from Rouland to Baroche. Monsignor Guibert then wrote to the new minister claiming the privilege of being the only one to be tried, as there was no question of accusing the other Bishops before his letter of June 4, which he wrote, signed and published even without their knowledge, and it was only just that he alone should bear the consequences. He first thought of putting in no other defense than this letter, but he changed his mind and put his case in the hands of Léon Cornudet. It was adjudicated on August 16, when the consultation of the seven Bishops was decreed an abuse; although it only advised good citizens to go to the poll and vote according to the dictates of their consciences. This decision, M. Cornudet said, was of great gravity because for the first time it established doctrinally that Bishops may be amenable to the jurisdiction of the Council of State, even when they do not perform an episcopal act in the strict sense of the word. This decision wounded Monsignor Guibert where he was most sensitive, in his innate respect for authority. But he was consoled by the numerous testimonies of respect and admiration which reached him. The Pope, through his relations with the French Government, forbade him to write directly to the Archbishop, indirectly made known to him his approval of the letter which led to his condemnation by the Council, which, he said, was impressed with as much dignity as truth. "He said nothing but what is true," said His Holiness, "and I do not think they seriously mean to persecute; the Catholic party is too powerful in France. I have seen the Archbishop of Tours last year in the month of January; he is worthy." Monsignor Nardi, then in Rome, wrote to him: "Your acts are worthy of St. Martin. You have spoken to the intelligence and the heart, to the sentiments of men and Christians. When one reads such things, the soul is uplifted and vigor is revived." And, giving news about the Pope, he added: "Pius IX. is a saint,

a great saint. He much resembles you, only he is more trammeled." Montalembert was delighted with him. "We are enraptured!" he wrote. Everything strikes home in that incomparable and memorable letter. It will be registered in the ecclesiastical history of our country and our time as one of the finest and most useful pages of that history. In reading it every one will say of M. Rouland: *In episcopum incidit!* Courageous successor of St. Martin, you are worthy to occupy his See. We thank you for presenting to us, in these times of treason and servility, the spectacle of true Pontifical virtue."

The Imperial Government next showed its animus when Pius IX. published his encyclical *Quanta Cura,* along with the *Syllabus,* or resumé of the principal errors of modern times. The publication in France of the first part was interdicted, an arbitrary act which drew from Monsignor Guibert a letter to the Keeper of the Seals in which he protested against the denial to Catholic prelates of a liberty permitted to the worst enemies of religion and social order. Monsignor Matthieu, Archbishop of Besancon, and Monsignor de Dreux-Brézé, who published the whole encyclical, were penalized.

When Thiers delivered a remarkable speech in the Corps legislatif in favor of the temporal power, it gave the liveliest satisfaction to the Archbishop of Tours, at whose instance it was reproduced in pamphlet form by the future President of the republic. And when, later, English and Irish Bishops felt that the time had come to warn the faithful of the danger that menaced the Holy Father and ordered public prayers to be offered for him, and the Nuncio invited him to follow their example, he responded with alacrity. In an "Instruction on the present dangers of the Church" (November 4, 1866), he wrote: "All the world seems convinced that after the departure of our soldiers from Rome, the Italian revolution, which covets that city for the capital, will strive, by methods familiar to it, to stir up seditions in the interior of the small State that remains to the Pope, and will thus supply the Government of Italy with a pretext to seize on the holy city, as it has already usurped the other provinces of the Pontifical State. This crime, when it will be accomplished, will be the greatest of modern times." Having expressed his astonishment at the passive attitude of kings and peoples in presence of such an outrage, he proceeds: "As to France, let it be permitted to an old Bishop, who has ever passionately loved the honor and glory of his country, to remind it that its providential mission is to defend the Patrimony of Peter. It may repudiate this task; but let it be remembered that, when a people has abandoned its destiny, it cannot

be surprised to see its country decline, grow weak and efface itself from the scene. The crimes of nations, besides, are punished in this world. Is not the uneasiness from which Europe suffers a chastisement? Addressing peoples, we would add, that, if they do not return from the ways into which they have strayed, God will send them a final scourge which He holds in reserve among the resources of His justice, and which will surpass all others: this supreme chastisement, if the evil becomes incurable, will consist in abandoning society into the hands of Godless sophists who, by the application of their false and anarchical utopias, will complete its dissolution and make it the image of hell." Have we not seen some realization of this forecast in the anti-Christian propagandism of our time and in the terrible war of nations by which peoples are scourging themselves, in that deluge of blood which is punishing, while it is purifying, a guilty world? "They will be forced to return to the Gospel and the Church," said Monsignor Guibert, "when, after unhappy attempts and perhaps dreadful misfortunes, they will want to establish a solid and durable order." We have seen, by the lurid light of battle fires, many hopeful glimpses of this long and much-desired reawakening of faith and turning towards the Catholic Church for solace and salvation. A copy of this pastoral was sent to Thiers, who, in acknowledging it, said: "To the noble touching language of a Bishop you have added the elevated and strongly expressed views of the statesman, and everybody applauds this way of thus uniting the interests of religion and of France." Simultaneously the Nuncio hastened to give expression to the joy he felt on reading it, and Monsignor Nardi told him of "the great consolation it had given the Holy Father, very sad at that moment."

The Archbishop of Tours had, as far as in him lay, rallied to the aid of the Church in what he described as one of the most dangerous crises it ever had to pass through. When it became still more acute and the possibility of the Pope going into exile, the Holy Father requested Monsignor Nardi to consult the Archbishop, who replied: "The Pope ought not to retire to Malta, although it may have the advantage of giving a lesson to the Catholic Powers by asking refuge of another Power. But the Holy Father ought to remain in the sphere of events and in the midst of Catholic nations. There he would be too isolated, not sufficiently accessible. In Europe, and particularly in France, there is a whirling of interest in which minds are involved and which only allows them to be impressed by what is visible and tangible. Malta would look like the St. Helena of the temporal Papacy, and the kingdom of Italy might establish itself in Rome as in free quarters.

Spain is too troubled, Germany too Prussian. It is to France the Pope ought to come, unexpectedly, without apprising the Government, not to Marseilles, where religious enthusiasm and political passions are so hot as to give umbrage to the Power. Pius IX. wants a calm and tranquil sojourn; Tours or Bourges. He should only tell the Emperor on his arrival; he should say to him that he does not ask his hospitality, because, an unhappy exile, all splendor would be inopportune. Thus Pius IX. would not be the guest of the Emperor; at no price should he consent to become so, and should even refrain from appearing in Paris. He would be the guest of French Catholics. Rather lose everything than compromise honor, which is the Church's treasure. The dignity of the Holy Father would be at ease in the midst of the testimonies of our love and veneration. What a festival for this privileged portion of the great Catholic family, and what a spectacle our country would present to the world!"

Even now, after the lapse of so many years, the Roman question is still an unsolved problem. Providence, when all is said and done, is, in the ultimate, the great maker of history, and it alone possesses the key to the enigma. Monsignor Guibert, as has been seen, was profoundly convinced of the necessity of the temporal power. Minds have traveled far since those days; but, whatever the solution may be, all are at one on the need of securing to the Pope the completest independence and freedom of action, which he could not enjoy if he were practically the subject, no matter how exalted, of any State. As the true successor of the Cæsars, he alone of all sovereigns possesses a sovereignty which is world-wide, and of which he cannot be deprived. He is an international personage, which makes his neutrality and inviolability a matter of international importance. In Monsignor Guibert's time events were shaping themselves towards the leveling down of the Church to the rank of a branch of the civil administration; and from that to a national Church was not far. He pointed out this danger to his episcopal colleagues. "It is the old system they are pursuing towards Rome," he said. "There will be no violence; violence would do good to our cause; but the temporal power is condemned in the opinion of our enemies. The new principles will not admit of a priest being King. We said that without this principality the head of the Church would no longer be free. Nothing is truer, and they know it; but it is the very motive that impels them to suppress this power. They do not want an independent Church, nor an independent Pope." Considering the political consequences likely to follow from the line taken by the French Government, he said: "Let Germany and Italy become more powerful, which

we can no longer prevent; think of the hatred, at least of the jealousy of other peoples, and ask yourself what part our country will play in the future. It will thus receive the punishment of its unfaithfulness towards the Church. The lessons of history are lost upon peoples and their rulers. The first Empire was on the road to ruin the moment it assailed the head of the Church. Up to this we do not see what profit the second Empire will gain by its conduct to the Pope." The Archbishop lived long enough to see that instead of being profitable it was perilous; and when the fall of the second Empire speedily followed the crushing defeat at Sedan, Napoleon must have recalled with unavailing regret the unheeded warnings he had received from Monsignor Guibert.

In a pastoral announcing his departure for Rome in 1867 to take part in the solemnities in celebration of the eighteen hundredth anniversary of the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul, we find this remarkable passage: "Since the power of the Pacific King, of Him who, according to the expression in the Sacred Scriptures, is 'the Prince of Peace,' has been destroyed, nations are engaged in nothing but raising formidable armies, and one would think that half the human race was getting ready to rush furiously on the other half. Since they have usurped most of the provinces of the Pontifical States, no territory is respected; the most powerful despoil the weak, and the law of the strongest seems to have become the law that governs society nowadays." The events that have taken place in Europe since the outbreak of this gigantic war; the huge armaments by land and sea out of all proportion to the legitimate needs of the Powers engaged in the greatest conflict of modern times; the megalomania which has turned the heads of rulers and statesmen; the seizure of territory on the plea of what is called "economic development"; and the total disregard of treaty obligations emphasize the correctness of Monsignor Guibert's reading of the signs of the times.

During his sojourn in Rome he drew up, in defense of the Papal Government, an "Address of the Bishops assembled in Rome in 1867 to Catholic princes, other sovereigns and Presidents of Republics who have subjects professing the Catholic religion in their States." Many gave their unqualified approval to it, particularly the Archbishops of Westminster and Posen, but some French prelates thinking it might displease the Government and, desirous that no divergence of opinion in the French episcopate should be made public, the project was abandoned. It was, however, substantially incorporated in the pastoral of August 20, 1867, which he issued on his return. Another project which was abandoned was his suggested embassy to Victor Emmanuel at Flor-

ence to negotiate with him or at least to try to bring Catholic opinion to bear upon the Pope in order to get him to accept what they called necessary reforms. He, after some reflection, rejected the proposal as a snare. "Such a mission," he said, "could only lessen and perhaps dishonor him who would accept it. I do not wish to be either a M. de Barral or a M. du Voisin," alluding to the mission of those two Bishops, the first his predecessor, from Napoleon I. to Pius VII. at Savona.

Monsignor Guibert's defense of the Papal monarchy, in which he displayed all the skill of a special pleader, greatly enhanced his reputation. He was the most conspicuous figure in the French episcopate and a power which even the Imperial Government had to count with. He was consulted as to the choice of ecclesiastics to fill vacant sees, and in 1859 was made an officer of the Legion of Honor as a mark of the high esteem in which the Emperor held him. Honors, however, did not seduce him or sap his virility. He remained the same man who wrote when an article appeared in the *Moniteur,* the official organ of the Government, which he regarded as a species of persecution: "You will see that this Government will perish through its faults and that a day will come when it will fall into public disrepute."

Not only Napoleon III., but statesmen, authors and the leaders and moulders of public opinion in France looked up to him. Guizot spoke of him as one of the best writers of the epoch. He was a born litterateur; the literary gift was innate; his pastorals are models of good French. He read, liked and praised Guizot, particularly when that eminent statesman and historian dwelt upon the necessity of the temporal power. The most cordial relations existed between the Catholic Archbishop and this Protestant politician and publicist. Monsignor Guibert's admiration of his uprightness and elevation of soul prompted him, he told him, at the close of his reading, to repeat the prayer which Christ dictated to His Disciples: *"Sint unum sicut et nos unum sumus."* To this Guizot replied: "I am glad of your approval, Monseigneur, and very touched by the sentiment you are pleased to express. I thank you for giving me your sympathy by praying for unity. In writing I have only had in mind the faith and the common cause of all Christians. To succeed a little in this design is my sole ambition, and the support of Christians like you, Monseigneur, is my best reward." His pastorals, which Guizot read attentively, ranged over a variety of subjects, each one of them being a treatise in itself; whether he dwelt on ecclesiastical studies, recommending St. Thomas of Aquin, the greatest of all the grand theologians, as the author to be preferred, though he was then laid aside in

most French seminaries; and the importance of higher and broader teaching, "the Church having always been the mother and guardian of knowledge"; or of the annexation of Nice and Savoy, which Guizot, to whom he sent his mandements and episcopal letters, regarded as a fine example of the harmony between sentiment and duty.

On the question of ecclesiastical vocations, a subject to which his attention had always been directed, he gave very wise counsel to those in authority, laying much stress on the need of a highly educated clergy, in which he anticipated the views and action of Leo XIII. He would have the avenues to the sanctuary open to all, provided they had real and solid vocations. "It is the glory of the Church," he said, "to have drawn from the humblest classes privileged minds who have often shed great lustre on the world and who otherwise would have remained in profound obscurity. Could one," he asked, "imagine a work more useful, more meritorious and more pleasing to God than to form a ministry of the sanctuary? It is the good work by excellence. It is sharing the merit of the Holy Sacrifices the young aspirant, raised to the priesthood, will one day offer at the altar, in the conversion of souls he will lead back to God, in all the sublime ministeries he will be called upon to exercise."

In 1867, dreading the effect of the allurements of Paris during exhibition year upon his flock, he composed a Lenten mandement on "the disastrous consequences of the abandonment of country life." There was then a movement of the rural populations towards the large towns and cities which was assuming proportions that sound economists did not approve. Besides, the greed of gain, the rapid acquisition of wealth by stock-jobbing, the scandalous success of certain financial operations, inspired agriculturists with a growing distaste of the slower methods of money-making by farming and wine cultivation. Then the deadening influence upon religious practice of the unbridled love of wealth, ease and pleasure, and the corruption of morals during the heyday of the second Empire, filled Monsignor Guibert wtih well-grounded alarm for the future of the country and he uttered some grave words of warning. But they fell on unheeding ears, for no one then suspected the terrible reawakening which in a few years was to arouse the people from their pleasant dreams.

When the inundations of the Loire devastated the country and made terrible ravages in Touraine, causing great loss and suffering, the agriculturists, panic-stricken, and driving their cattle before them, sought shelter and relief in Tours. The Archbishop, country born and bred, keenly sympathized with the sufferers. He

not only appealed for them in pastorals, but he threw open his own palace to them and let them pen their live stock in his grounds, so that for several weeks his house was like a rural manor. Many of the poor people were housed in the grand seminary, two Sisters of Charity superintending the arrangements for their accommodation.

The translation, in 1867, of the head of St. Athanasius afforded him an opportunity of recalling the merits of that great servant of God and recommending his cultus to the faithful. He also powerfully contributed to rendering honor to two other holy souls, the Blessed Françoise d'Amboise and Jeanne Marie de Maillé, the cause of whose beatification he promoted in Rome.

While these and many other subjects claimed his attention he was not insensible to the charms of literary and social intercourse. The episcopal palace, where he dispensed generous hospitality, was a centre of attraction to many men of light and leading. Audin, before publishing his works on Luther and Calvin, had consulted Monsignor Guibert when he was Bishop of Viviers, and had ever since been in constant correspondence and familiar intercourse with him. Monsignor Laforêt, rector of the University of Louvain, submitted to him his "Philosophie Morale" and "Dogmes Catholiques," when in course of publication, and solicited the same favor for his work on the Papacy; but the French police, then very distrustful, seized it at the frontier, and it was never allowed to reach its destination. When that project was given up, he consulted him on the plan of a Christian history of philosophy. Père Gratry sought his approbation for his "Philosophie du Credo," as did the Abbé Mignan about his exegetical and apostolic works. He exercised not only a spiritual but an intellectual ascendancy over the men of his time. He was a strong supporter of the journal *l'Ami de la Religion,* then edited by Poujoulat, and in which Comte de Lacombe, united to the Archbishop by ties of affection, M. de Carné and many other writers of great distinction collaborated. When *l'Univers,* after its suppression, reappeared in 1868, Monsignor Guibert, forgetting or ignoring past differences, encouraged the editors with his money and his great influence. More charitable and broadminded than Montalembert, he did not wait for Veuillot's overtures of reconciliation, but took the first step himself. Between the author of "Le Parfum de Rome" and one of the most Roman of the French Bishops there could have been no difference that could not easily have been bridged over. "I subscribed from the first to the new *Univers,*" wrote the Archibshop, "Mr. Veuillot having asked my advice, which he accepted with a simplicity that honors him." He calls

him "a distinguished writer, full of *verve*." Veuillot lived at No. 44 Rue du Bac. In a flat below him lived in common several able ecclesiastics, of whom the pious Abbé Éleuthère de Girardin was superior. One evening the latter went up to the chief editor of *l'Univers* and said: "Monsignor Guibert, who is dining with us, requests you to receive him." "It is for me," good humoredly replied the journalist, "to cover the distance that separates us," and he promptly went down to greet the prelate. In 1861 he sent Monsignor Guibert a copy of his "Satires," which so pleased him that he expressed the opinion that writing of that sort was the vocation that God reserved for him in the maturity of age. "Since Boileau, Jean Baptiste Rousseau, La Fontaine, we have hardly read verses so strong, so free from verbiage, so impregnated with the genuine flavor of wit," was his appreciative comment. In inviting him to accept his "modest but cordial hospitality" and talk things over, he wrote: "Although they may make me out a son of thunder, I shall preach to you prudence and moderation, and above all union among Catholics. It is the sermon I am continually preaching, when opportunity presents, to your former adversaries. Let us then be united against the common enemy, truly formidable by audacity and an hypocrisy such as up to this hell had not exhibited any types. We shall talk of all these things, of our dangers, of methods of defense and of our infallible hopes when you shall do me the honor to come." When Veuillot was ill he went to see him, and when he died he joined in the general mourning for the loss of the great journalist who fought the battle of the faith as chivalrously with the pen as ever belted knight fought with the sword. He deemed it fitting that a monument should be erected in the Church of the Sacred Heart commemorating the brilliant services the editor of *l'Univers* had rendered to the Church.

Meanwhile his heart was wrung by deaths in his own and in his spiritual family. In 1858 his mother died; in January, 1860, Monsignor de Mazenod announced the death of Père Aubert, whom he followed to the grave next year to the great grief of his most devoted disciple; in 1863 passed away Père Courtès, one of his oldest friends and confidants; and in 1864 his sister, Pauline.

"Star after star decays. Who hath not lost a friend?
There is no union here of hearts that hath not here an end."

In November, 1869, on his way to Rome to attend the Vatican Council, he broke the journey at Aix, his native city, Père Augier, then superior of the Oblates' house there, relates an incident which throws a flood of light upon the Archbishop's *vie intime*. In visiting his modest apartments he said to him: "Are these your apartments as superior?" "Yes, Monseigneur." "If I asked you to

give them up to me would you do so?" "With all my heart, and, with them my title and functions as superior. I am speaking seriously to you," he added. "I am possessed of the idea of one day laying aside the episcopal office and retiring to one of our houses, to live there in recollection and peace and prepare for death. Now, the apartment you occupy here is just what would suit me. I have now given you the reason which made me put the question to you." "Your Lordship will always find me disposed to give up my apartments to you," Père Augier replied; "but since they are to help you to prepare for death, I wish it may be as late as possible." Though an Archbishop occupying a prominent and commanding position in the episcopate and in already measurable distance of reaching a still higher elevation, he was still an Oblate, a religious at heart. Even when he was a Cardinal, invested with the Roman purple, he harbored the same design. So that, years before that, when the French Director of Public Worship let fall the expression, "there is something of the monk in that man," he was not mistaken. Emile Ollivier, in his work, "l'Église et l'Etat au Concile du Vatican," who traced therein pen-portraits of the principal prelates, says: "Grave, austere, Monsignor Guibert has a monastic aspect which would change to severity if, under a severe brow, did not flash a bright eye, and if the lip was not relieved by a fatherly smile."

Pius IX. early consulted him as to the opportunities of holding an œcumenical council, to which he replied in the affirmative, while avoiding any reference to the main question that was to be debated; not that he had any substantial doubts on the subject of Papal infallibility, but at first he thought it useless and inopportune to raise it. Cautious and reflective, his was not a mind that rushed to conclusions hastily: his logical habits of thought disposed him to pause and weigh things in the balance of his judgment before expressing a definite opinion or coming to a conclusion. His belief was the belief of sound Cathoilcs in all ages. "As to the question of the infallibility of the Pope," he wrote to Monsignor Regnault, "you know my opinion on that subject. I have always believed that the Pope, deciding *ex cathedra,* on matters of faith, is infallible; he could not be otherwise, for without that the Church would lack a necessary and permanent tribunal to put a stop to heresies, to prevent them from propagating themselves, and to preserve the faith of the faithful; general councils only assembling rarely and at undetermined epochs. Is it opportune at present to make a dogma of this truth? It is a thing which is not yet very clear to me. I do not know if these reflections are of any worth; but, *au fond,* I would not have the least repugnance

to subscribing to a decree which would proclaim the dogma of the infallibility of the Pope, since I admit this truth as necessary and that I believe Jesus Christ Himself proclaimed it when He said: *"Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam."* During the Vatican Council he was one of the twenty-five members of the Congregation of the *postulata* and, as such, by his very clear and conclusive address largely influenced their decision in favor of the question of infallibility being submitted to the council. He began by making a profession of faith in the infallibility of the Pope, which was the belief of his whole life, which he had been taught in his youth and during his course of studies had himself taught in his ministry and when he was director of the seminary at Ajaccio, and which was unreservedly admitted by his order. In conclusion, he said it was necessary that the question should be treated and decided affirmatively, for otherwise it would be the cause of great inconvenience to the faithful; governments would no longer have the respect they should for the Holy See, and the Pope's authority would be lessened. The Holy Father, who had given orders to have the result of the voting immediately communicated to him, expressed the liveliest satisfaction. The Cardinals told him that, thanks to the Archbishop of Tours, whose reasons were convincing, they had voted its introduction. Cardinal Franchi afterwards said he was one of the principal causes of its definition. He was, in fact, the first to vote in favor of the infallibility of the Pope; he did so in advance of all others. When his health broke down owing to the Roman climate, Pius IX., in alarm, sent him his own physician, Dr. Ceccarelli, who said to Monsignor Jeancard: "If you wish to take him away otherwise than in his coffin, he must be sent away forthwith." Before his departure he wrote to the Pope, saying that, forestalling the moment when his brethren in the episcopate would he called upon to vote, he said from the bottom of his heart *"Placet"* to the proposition of the definition of his doctrinal infallibility. In acting thus, he acted as a true Oblate, for belief in Papal infallibility was long held and upheld by the founder of the Congregation of Mary Immaculate.

Shortly after his return to Tours the war of 1870 broke out, France having fallen into the trap set for it by Bismarck and Prim. A patriot to the heart's core, he wrote to his nephew: "If I was younger, I should ask to be an army chaplain;" and a little later, at the approach of the invasion: "If the Prussians arrive, I am quite decided to remain at my post; they will take what they wish, if they are the strongest; but I shall not offer them a glass of water." He was, despite himself, drawn into the whirl of events. After ordering prayers for the success of the French arms, he pre-

scribed a collection for the sick and wounded, and had Mass daily said at St. Martin's tomb for the army in the field, while the archiepiscopal palace and the two seminaries were placed at the disposal of the military authority. For three months Tours was the provisional capital of France. The heads of the Government asked and received hospitality at his hands. With the exception of a few rooms, his house became the headquarters ot the governmental delegation, which included men of different beliefs or none. This placed him in a difficult and delicate position, but his unfailing urbanity, tact and firmness rose to the occasion. All through this very trying time the most cordial relations existed between Cremieux, Keeper of the Seals, a Jew and head of the Freemasons, and the Catholic Archbishop, who had to arrange with him the nomination of Bishops and other important matters. The only jarring note which slightly disturbed the harmony was struck when Gambetta came upon the scene. As was only natural under the circumstances, Monsignor Guibert took a rather pessimistic view of the situation. Writing to Monsignor Pie, he said: "There is nothing to be expected from men; but we may hope that if God blots out, it is afterwards to write. There is no longer any principle existing, even in the minds of those governing. It is not only the religious, but the moral sense which is obliterated. I do not think one has ever spoken so many truths as I scatter daily around me. They listen deferentially, but they do not understand. We Christians form a society, a people apart, no longer in community of thought with the immense society around us, which is breaking up or rather completely dissolving. It is a world which is coming to an end. If another society is to be formed and continued, it must necessarily be reconstituted on the Catholic principle, which is the only foundation that promises consistence; if not, it is the end of all things." The war he regarded as the consequence of preceding faults, chief of which was the war in Italy.

He opposed the incorporation of seminarists in the regiments. Thrice the decree of incorporation was carried; as often the Archbishop's influence prevented its execution. He also prevented Garibaldi setting foot in his palace, telling his guests if he came that he would retire to his diocesan seminary. The London *Daily News* having stated that the Archbishop, along with Cremieux, had received the Italian revolutionary and shaken hands with him, he indignantly denied it. "In the country of St. Thomas of Canterbury," he said, "they seem no longer to know what a Bishop is; but we still know it in France, despite our misfortunes, and, with God's help, it is not I who shall ever forget the respect I owe to my sacred character nor my duties to my Church as well as to my

country." When another false report made it appear that the Pope was about to leave Rome and retire to a city under the protection of Prussia, he wrote to Cardinal Antonelli that such condescendence on the part of Rome would scandalize the Catholic world. But the Cardinal assured him that His Holiness never thought of quitting the Eternal City for any other country.

When it became known that the victorious Prussian monarch secretly desired to bring the war to an end, Pius IX. intervened in the interests of peace and appealed to him to stop the effusion of blood, writing at the same time to the Archbishop of Tours to confer with his brethren in the episcopate and do everything in his power to get the French Government to open negotiations. But His Holiness' suggestion of an armistice was politely declined at Versailles, and the letter which Monsignor Guibert addressed to the Government of the National Defense, conveying the Pope's wishes, received no direct reply. "When Pius IX. invites us to peace, do not think, gentlemen," wrote the Archbishop, "that he recommends a humiliating peace; he loves France too much not to love its honor; the Church cannot wish its eldest daughter to be lowered, and we, French Bishops, are wont to regard love and respect for our country as a second religion." Having waited three weeks for a communication from the Government and receiving none, after the departure of the delegation to Bordeaux and as the enemy were approaching Tours, he wrote to the King of Prussia, saying: "Sufficient blood has been shed on both sides; religion and humanity unite in demanding the end of a war which saddens and afflicts all hearts." This letter had just a little effect. He was more successful in saving the lives of two French peasants who had fired on the German troops when they were entering Tours, and for whom he appealed to General Hartmann. The fortunes of war constrained him to extend the hospitality of his palace to unwelcome German guests; but when it was proposed to billet the young Prince of Mecklenburg upon him, his patriotic spirit revolted, and he declared that if the prince came, he would leave it. His firmness had the same result that it had when it kept Garibaldi at bay. His solicitude for his people made him write to the German Emperor, appealing to his sense of justice against the exorbitant war contribution imposed upon Tours, which was also required to guarantee all the other communes of the department under the severest penalties. The King did not reply, but an unexpected reduction showed that the prelate's protest had been effectual.

His interest in French affairs at this momentous epoch did not cause him to forget the interests of the Church. In a pastoral of January 1, 1871, he wrote: "If we are Frenchmen, we are also

Catholics, and in our hearts love of the Church is blended with love of our country." Even when the enemy were near Tours he published the encyclical of November 1, 1870, with indignant commentaries. On June 21, 1871, he sent to the members of the National Assembly an address praying them to take in hand the cause of the Papal sovereignty. This was signed by the four suffragan Bishops of his province. In all his relations with men in power he never swerved from the guiding principle of his life ever since he was mitred, the maintenance in all its plenitude of the dignity and independence of the episcopal office. It was this which gave him such an ascendency even over men diametrically opposed to him in religion and politics. Ministers consulted him when the religious interests of the country were at stake and were willingly guided by him. "At that time," he said later, with a shrewd smile, "politicians discovered that Bishops might be good for something."

When the brief reign of terror which the Communists had established in Paris had been put down and the massacre of the hostages, including Monsignor Darboy, left the See of Paris vacant, both the Nunciature and the Government fixed their choice upon Monsignor Guibert as the fittest successor of the martyred Archbishop. It was a post of peril. A succession of tragic incidents had marked the *via dolorosa* trodden by preceding prelates. Monsignor de Quelen had seen his palace and his chateau at Conflans sacked by the revolutionists; Monsignor Affre had been shot dead on the barricades when, Crucifix in hand, he had intervened as a peacemaker in 1848; Monsignor Sibour had been assassinated by a fanatical priest, and Monsignor Darboy had just been shot by the Communists in the prison yard of La Roquetta. These presaged a future overshadowed by possible perils. The times were stormy and needed a firm hand at the helm. Such a hand was that of the Archbishop of Tours, who had steered safely through many trying crises. The Papal Nuncio, Monsignor Chigi, looked upon his designation as "a real providence," the Church of Paris wanting such "a worthy, firm and prudent prelate," noted for "his great virtues and noble qualities." Thiers, although it is said he would have preferred Monsignor Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, was so impressed by his learning, his profound wisdom and dignity that he found no one worthier. Monsignor Guibert at first declined the nomination, alleging his great age (he was then sixty-eight), his infirmities, the overwhelming labor which the Diocese of Paris at all times imposes upon its ruler and the necessity, after a great religious and social crisis, of placing in still vigorous hands the crozier of the chief pastor in the French capital. These and other objections he pressed upon Jules Simon until the latter observed:

"But if you refuse, they will say one does not wish for the Archbishopric of Paris because they shoot the Archbishops." He asked to be allowed to consult one whose advice he always took in difficult circumstances. "How long will that take?" inquired the Minister. "I don't want more than an hour," replied Monsignor Guibert, adding: "But why should I not tell you the name of Him whom I am going to consult? It is Our Lord Jesus Christ." After about an hour's prayerful consideration in his chapel, he returned and said: "I have a superior; it is the Pope. He knows me, he knows my age; if he orders me to go to Paris, I will go to Paris." He soon received from Cardinal Antonelli, who wrote in the Pope's name, a communication which made it obligatory upon him to accept the Archbishopric of Paris. He at once sent his acceptance to the President of the Republic and wrote to the Pope: "You have deigned, Holy Father, to make it known to me that you would view with satisfaction my acceptance of the Archbishopric of Paris. That is enough for me; I have set aside all my objections. How could I draw back before the troubles I foresee in this new ministry, thinking of the pains and persecutions with which the Vicar of Jesus Christ is oppressed? I ought to consider myself happy if it be given to me to participate of the bitter chalice with which your Holiness is drenched."

Monsignor Nardi reminded him that St. Charles Borromeo found Milan worse perhaps than Paris, and history records what he made of it. "You will be the St. Charles of Paris," he wrote. "I never despair of the French, or French hearts. They go very far, it is true, but one can lead them back; they are much more docile than people generally think. I pity Tours, but your works there remain." Monsignor Meignan wrote from Châlons: "You are going to the post which Providence calls you to occupy, as the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul went to Rome; let me hope, however, that you will have the glory of the confessor and not that of the martyr." The happiest feature of the translation, as it struck Monsignor Lavigerie, was that the French episcopate would have in him a guide and a chief, enabling it to recover a little of that cohesion which was so necessary under existing circumstances. Jules Simon had said to him, when he objected to his advanced years: "Nowadays everything is done by old men." Cremieux was more precise and emphatic. When he heard of the promotion he wrote: "The news is then official, and it is in the Archbishopric of Paris that your grand career is to be contained *ab anno 1871 usque ad annum 1922*." This was giving him a patriarchal prolongation of life, far beyond the ordinary Scriptural span; for if he fulfilled the good Jew's wishes he would have attained the age of 120! His appear-

ance in the See of St. Denis seemed to Monsignor Segur the dawn of a new era in the Church of Paris and the beginning of a resurrection.

Preconized in the consistory of October 27, 1871, he was installed in Notre Dame on November 27. His elevation made no change in his habits of life. Before taking possession of his see he gave directions that his apartment in the Archbishop's palace should be fitted up with extreme simplicity, deeming it a duty, as he told the chancellor, the Abbé Petit, to practise simplicity and even poverty in the times in which they lived. "One is not at his ease," he said, "in the midst of brilliant and luxurious furniture, when one is surrounded by so much misery and suffering." In a farewell pastoral to his former diocesans he said that the Church of Tours had possessed his whole heart to such a degree that he had already selected his burial place alongside the tomb of St. Martin. Pius IX., through the intermediary of the Nuncio, sent him a magnificent crozier, which he carried when he took possession of his Cathedral. "The presence of Monsignor Guibert yesterday at Notre Dame," wrote M. Poujoulat, "produced one of the profoundest impressions of respect we remember. That fine episcopal head which recalls the ascetical heads sculptured in the portals of old cathedrals, that gravity tempered by Christian meekness, that rare dignity allied to perfect simplicity, all that blending of authority, goodness and austere grandeur excited real religious emotion. Since the great days of Père Lacordaire we have not seen such a numerous congregation at Notre Dame. What a moment was that when the Archbishop, leaning on the pastoral staff the Pope had given him, advanced under the canopy to the sound of bells and the roll of the organ, to the chanting of the *Benedictus qui venit,* blessing the silent and prostrate crowd! It was the soul of the pastor who was devoting himself to his flock: a beautiful and moving spectacle!"

In his domestic life the spirit of evangelical poverty pervaded everywhere. The great dining room was converted into a domestic chapel. Reform extended even to the stables, where he would only have one horse, which became embarrassing when, later on, he had a coadjutor. This made one of the household observe: "Alas! formerly the Archbishop had two horses; now the horse has two Archbishops." He touched the hearts of the Parisians by his liberal almsgiving and his interest in the working classes, visited the *faubourgs* and was accessible to everybody. When they saw him passing along the streets, this aged Bishop with the emaciated face, luminous eyes, and white hair, they murmured as they followed him: "It is a saint!" Of his own motion he came into imme-

diate contact with misery and suffering. After his installation he asked to be allowed to exercise the privilege, conceded by the head of the State to a new Archbishop, of releasing four prisoners. Thiers at once acceded to his request. Although very ill, he immediately went to Sainte Pélagie, la Santé, la Roquette, and Saint Lazare, and gave their liberty to four prisoners, who were so moved and astonished that they could only express their gratitude by silence and tears. On his feast day, March 19, every year, putting on a white apron, he waited at table on the old men in the house of the Little Sisters of the Poor. Whenever he met a poor man, he never failed to stop his carriage, interrupt the reading of his breviary, and open his purse. He took pleasure in distributing alms himself and not delegating it to an almoner. An unpleasant experience, however, showed him the impossibility of continuing in Paris what was easy enough at Viviers or Tours. The first time he went to Saint Sulpice to confer orders, he found a dozen beggars at the seminary gate; he had them ranged in a semi-circle, dropping a silver coin in each one's hand and accompanying the action with a few compassionating words. The news spread. At the next ordination there were more than a hundred. The number increased at each successive ordination, until a whole army of mendicants numbering nearly a thousand besieged the seminary. There was such a rough scramble, such a free fight for the coveted coins, that the Archbishop, pressed by the crowd, was unable to move, and his cassock and surplice were torn to shreds. By an adroit manœuvre one of the Sulpician Fathers released him from his uncomfortable position, and he returned to his palace somewhat disillusionized.

He was the antithesis of wordly, high-placed ecclesiastics. Shortly after his installation Thiers invited him to dinner; he went; but when the invitation was renewed, he politely declined. Thiers was pained. "Monsieur le President," he explained, "in our epoch Bishops have no longer time to be grand dignitaries of State; they must be apostles. Leave me time to be simply an apostle." When Marshal McMahon became President, Monsignor Guibert took up the same attitude. The literary merit of his pastorals, carefully written and modeled on the style of Bossuet and writers of that school who made *le grand français* classic, having greatly impressed others besides Guizot, the Duc de Noailles, a member of the French Academy, was commissioned by a number of that distinguished body to invite him to become a candidate for a vacant seat in it. He declined, firstly because he disclaimed any pretensions to rank as a man of letters and secondly because he considered that dignity would be incompatible with his sacred ministry.

His diplomacy and his *savoir faire,* of which he possessed a mas-

tery, having gained for him the sympathy and confidence of the Government, he availed of the influence he exercised to obtain measures useful to the Church. His great qualities were not only recognized in Paris, but in Rome; and in the consistory of December 22, 1873, Pius IX. set the seal of Papal approval of his services to the Church by raising him to the Cardinalate. He selected as his titular church that of St. John at the Latin Gate, out of special veneration for the beloved disciple and devotion to the Sacred Heart. His elevation to the Sacred College, no more than his elevation to the Archbishopric of Paris, did not alter the sentiments of profound humility with which he was penetrated. Writing to his sister he said: "What has taken place ought not to inspire either you or me with the least feeling of pride and vanity. We must be grateful to God, but remain in our modesty. It is certainly not my personal merit which called for these high dignities; but God, as He declares in the Holy Scriptures, loves to make something of those who are nothing."

He was thoroughly Roman, or as Liberalists called it, ultramontane, as if the latter word was in any sense depreciatory. In 1872 he had promulgated the decrees of the Vatican Council in his diocese, and two months after his installation introduced the Roman liturgy into Paris. In 1875 he postulated for a coadjutor *cum jure,* his nominee being Monsignor Richard, Bishop of Belley, who, on August 13 of that year, was installed as titular Archbishop of Larissa, and ultimately was his successor.

During intervals in his administrative work he took a conspicuous part in public religious demonstrations. Thus, in July, 1876, he went to Lourdes in company with the Nuncio and consecrated the famous basilica; after which both eminent prelates, in the name of the Holy Father, crowned the statue of Our Lady Immaculate, an act which well befitted the illustrious Oblate. It was a great occasion. There were not less than thirty-five Bishops and a hundred thousand pilgrims present. At his instance all the assembled prelates sent an address from Lourdes to Pius IX. in anticipation of His Holiness' episcopal jubilee. Another famous sanctuary of Our Lady, that of La Salette, was also visited, as well as that of Notre Dame de l'Osier, specially endeared to many Oblates who made their novitiate under its protecting shades. It was his intention to visit several other sanctuaries, but the serious illness of his coadjutor summoned him to Paris. The death of Pius IX. summoned him further when he had to go to Rome to take part in the conclave of Leo XIII. On his return he broke his journey at Frejus, where he consecrated the new Bishop of Nice, Monsignor Balain, O. M. I., formerly superior of the seminary

at Ajaccio, and at Aix, where he said to the seminarists: "I have come from Rome; we have just made a Pope, and I think we have done well." Two days afterwards he assisted at an impressive religious solemnity at Marseilles, in the Church of Notre Dame de la Garde, to thank God for the recent Pontifical election, and two years later he was at the crowning of Our Lady of Good Help at La Blachère in Ardèche.

The hapless condition of the orphans of the war and the Commune and the moral and social amelioration of the no less lamentable state of the working classes appealed to his charitable heart. Madame Thiers interested herself chiefly in the children of the soldiers who had fallen in battle, while Madame MacMahon looked after those of the insurgents, the innocent victims of the Paris *émeute*. But it was only when Monsignor Guibert took it in hands that the work was energetically pushed on. Up to February, 1872, more than two hundred children had been placed in different educational establishments; in October, following an appeal issued by the Archbishop, the number was doubled. During the eight years it existed the committee, who had charge of what came to be called "the Work of the Orphans of the Archbishop of Paris" spent over 150,000 francs and put more than five hundred children in the way of earning an honest living. The moral betterment of the toiling masses he aimed at effecting by multiplying churches in the faubourgs; knowing well that the root cause of Communism was the decadence or loss of faith and all religious sentiment, exposing the demoralized populace to every corrupting influence. The most direct means of remedying such a state of things was to bring the Church and its influence closer to the people; for the faubourgs were the seed-plots of revolution and anti-clericalism. Not only those who suffered morally but those who were suffering physically were the objects of his solicitude, and for the latter he organized a system of relief called "the work of the sick poor of the faubourgs."

But the greatest undertaking in which, not without mature thought and prudent circumspection, Monsignor Guibert embarked was the basilica on Montmartre, the Church of the National Vow, or consecration of France to the Sacred Heart. This project, placed before Pius IX. by Father Jandel, the master general of the Dominicans, received the Pontifical blessing on February 11, 1871. It was motived by a desire to make reparation for the public crimes of the nation, to implore the salvation of Franec. Père Jonquet, in his *Montmartre autrefois et aujourd'hui,* says: "The National Vow owes to him its definitive form, its expansion, and its marvelous popularity." Père Mousabré, at his request, preached elo-

quently in favor of it from the pulpit of Notre Dame, and after the distinguished Dominican finished his discourse, Monsignor Guibert, in commending the undertaking to the generosity of the faithful, said: "Henceforth I make this work mine, and I desire its success with all my soul." Pius IX. encouraged it with a special brief. Montmartre is traditionally said to have been the scene of the martyrdom of the first Bishop of Paris and a large number of Christians, his converts. During the ages of faith a celebrated abbey had established on the summit of the hill a retreat for prayer and penitence. Religious souls, monarchs and ecclesiastical dignitaries went there in large numbers to offer thanksgiving to God or implore a favor or forgiveness. It was the birthplace of one of the greatest orders in the Church, the Society of Jesus, for it was there St. Ignatius Loyola and his first companions, at the Mass said by Peter Fabre, vowed to devote their future lives *ad majorem Dei gloriam.* Twice Monsignor Guibert made a pilgrimage to Paray-le-Monial to draw inspiration for his great work on the spot where the Blessed Marguerite Marie Alacoque received the mission to propagate devotion to the Sacred Heart; first, when he had secured the public approval and support of the National Assembly, and again before he performed the ceremony of blessing the first stone of the basilica on June 16, 1875, when more than twelve thousand persons assembled on Montmartre. Meanwhile, during the building, a provisional chapel was erected and given in charge to his religious brethren, the Oblates. "One of the consolations of my old age," he wrote to the superior general, "is to see the Oblates ascend Montmartre. I shall die content, because, when I shall be no more, I shall live in that dear family which will continue the work I have just begun."

Space will not permit to detail all the beneficent acts of his administration. There was no cause worthy of support that appealed to him in vain; whether it was the priests exiled by the Swiss Government, the devastation occasioned by the inundations in the south of France, distress in Ireland, the earthquake at Ischia, the sufferings of the southern populations ravaged by cholera, the persecution of the Jews in Russia, the maintenance of the free schools established after the public schools had been laicized and the provision of voluntary hospital chaplains after the suppression of official chaplains. Education, a subject of vital interest everywhere, was specially so in France, where the enemies of the Church sought by its means to sap the foundations of belief. Therefore, when the law of 1875 decreed freedom of higher teaching, Monsignor Guibert, acting in concert with the other Bishops, promptly availed of it to found a Catholic University, later renamed the Catholic

Institute when at the instigation of Jules Ferry the law of March 18, 1880, deprived the free faculties of the title of universities. In 1879 its curriculum had been completed by the creation of an upper school of theology, ten years later erected into a faculty. Its progress had been rapid until political changes, so common in France, disturbed its peaceful existence. Up to the last Cardinal Guibert evinced the keenest interest in this great Catholic institution, the importance of which was only made the more manifest by the violence with which the secularists attacked it. Out of this grew the Hospital of St. Joseph, which supplied the need of a school of medicine, where students, who came in large numbers to Paris, could qualify without any of the dangers to faith to which the official faculty exposed them.

The years from 1877 to 1886 were marked by encroachments of the civil power on the ecclesiastical domain and the laicization of every institution of a religious or semi-religious character. These arbitrary excesses of authority called forth from the militant Archbishop of Paris, who was practically the leader of the Catholic forces, vigorous protests. "They would now like," he said, "to laicize the Church itself and make its administration a chapter of the general administration of the republic. We must oppose with all our power such a pretension. The way they wish to enter on, in which they have taken the first steps, would successively and by renewed encroachments lead to the civil constitution of the clergy." No arguments based on merely human prudence would deter the intrepid prelate from openly engaging in the conflict. Thus one day several of his colleagues were discussing the opportuneness of one of his letters in which they were to join. One of them, Cardinal de Bonnechose, had been commissioned by the Nuncio, Monsignor Czacki, to prevent its publication. In a long address he urged all the arguments he could in favor of keeping silent. While he was speaking, Cardinal Guibert listened with unmistakable signs of impatience and discontent, while the nervous twitchings of his face and the glances shot from his eyes showed what was passing in his mind. When Cardinal de Bonnechose had ceased speaking, he rose abruptly, and, with his hands resting on the arms of his chair, said: "If the Nuncio told you to use such language, Eminence, it is because political expediency demands it; he is a diplomat, he has his points of view; but we, we are Bishops, not Bishops without flocks, but Bishops to whom the Church has confided a portion of its children; our duty is to defend our people, and since to defend them we must speak, we shall speak." His voice prevailed; a brief delay was all they could get him to consent to.

He showed equal courage and interpidity in his chmapionship of

the religious orders and congregations when Jules Ferry's famous, or rather infamous, March decrees led to the expulsion of the Jesuits, Carmelites and Barnabites, the first victims of a policy of undisguised persecution. De Freycinet imagined he had sufficient influence in Parliament to have the execution of the decree postponed, after the suppression of the Jesuits, if the other congregations submitted to the civil power by asking for authorization, and when they declined to accept such a precarious guarantee, the President of the Council addressed himself to Rome through the intermediary of the Ambassador. But the Holy Father, who was not to be duped by such promises, directed his Secretary of State to write to Cardinal Guibert commissioning him and Cardinal de Bonnechose to transmit to all the French Bishops and through them to all the heads of congregations a draft declaration which they might sign and send privately to the Minister of Public Worship. It was promptly signed, but its premature publicity in a Bordeaux paper gave the radical organs an opportunity of accusing De Freycinet of having deserted the republican cause and compacted with the opponents of the party in power. De Freycinet resigned and was replaced by Ferry, who was given a free hand in the expulsion of religious. The line of conduct Cardinal Guibert had counseled the congregations to pursue and the letters he had published in their defense were approved by the Pope, whose brief on this occasion was not the only evidence of Pontifical approbation. The Holy Father not only supported by his authority the attitude assumed by Cardinal Guibert towards the civil authorities, but liked to consult him about the general direction of religious affairs in France.

The Archbishop wrote more than once to the President of the Republic to warn him of the popular commotion caused by the execution of the decrees, and when all arguments and expostulations failed to stay the hands of the oppressors, he publicly manifested his sympathy with the expelled religious. And when the Government accused the clergy of having unduly exercised their influence in the elections in favor of candidates antagonistic to the republic, he, jointly with the Cardinal Archbishops of Lyons and Toulouse, replied in the names of the whole French episcopate, repelling the false accusation. "Permit an old Bishop who has seen the political règime of his country change seven times," he said, "permit him to say to you for the last time what his long experience suggests. By continuing in the way to which it is self-committed, the republic may do much injury to religion; it will not succeed in killing it. The Church has known other perils, it has passed through other storms, and it still lives in the heart of France. It will assist at the funerals of those who flatter themselves they are destroying it. The republic

has received neither from God nor from history any promise of immortality. It is not the Church one can accuse of working the ruin of the political establishment of which you are guardians; you know that revolt is not a weapon we use. The clergy will continue to suffer patiently; they will pray for their enemies; they will ask God to enlighten them and inspire them with juster sentiments; but those who shall have willed this impious war will destroy themselves, and great ruin will have been wrought before our beloved country sees prosperous days again. . . . Arrived at the end of a long career, I wished before rendering an account to God of my administration to relieve myself of any responsibility for such misfortunes. But I cannot close this letter without expressing the hope that France will never let itself be robbed of the holy beliefs which have been its strength and its glory in the past and ensured it the first rank among nations." A courageous combatant to the last, he may be said to have almost died pen in hand, a weapon he wielded with great power and effectiveness, for three months after he wrote these brave words he expired. It was in the spring of 1885 that the malady, a cardiac affection, which ultimately proved fatal, first suddenly revealed itself. A terrible suffocating crisis put his life in danger, and the next day, Good Friday, at his own request, Extreme Unction was administered, and the day following, Holy Saturday, he received the Viaticum. He rallied, and after that intermittent crises supervened until the end. During this, his last illness, having heard that Victor Hugo was dying, he became greatly concerned for the salvation of the poet, who when moved to better sentiments than in his declining years had written some of his finest verses in praise of religion. The Archbishop, always intent on doing good as long as life lasted, wrote to Madame Edouard Lockroy, to say that he had made a memento at Mass for the illustrious invalid, and that if he wished to see a minister of religion, though he was still weak from a malady much resembling his, he would make it his duty to afford him the spiritual succor and consolations he needed. M. Edouard Lockroy replied that Victor Hugo had declared that he did not wish to be assisted by any priest of any creed, and that they felt bound to respect his wishes. It afterwards transpired that Lockroy had withheld from the dying man any knowledge of the Cardinal's charitable overtures.

In the intervals between the crises he said Mass as long as any flickering strength remained in him. Fearing to be spoiled by too much care being taken of him, they had a difficulty in getting him to accept the services of two nursing Sisters. He would not partake of any delicacies, telling them that what suited him best was the plain fare of the country folk in his native Provence. His only

wish was to die a priestly death as he had lived a priestly life—*une mort bien chrétienne et bien sacerdotale.* When Père Fabre, superior general of the Oblates, paid him a last visit, he said: "Let the Oblates always live in humility; let them practice mutual charity; let them be always devoted to the poor; let them go on quietly (*qu'ils fassent peu de bruit*); let them bring forth much fruit. The Lord will bless them; He will multiply the members of the congregation and will maintain among us the spirit of our first fathers." When he knew that his last hour was very near, he said to his coadjutor: "I cannot speak any more. Ask of God for me that I may die as a Bishop should die, offering to God the sacrifice of my life for my diocese and for Holy Church." These were his last words. Shortly afterwards he passed away peaceably without a struggle. In his last will he expressed a wish that his obsequies and funeral should be characterized by simplicity, and that what they would like to expend on them should be given to the poor. He desired that his epitaph should be thus worded: *"Hic Jacet Josephus-Hippolytus Guibert, Archiepiscopus Parisiensis, expectans beatam spem, et adventum gloriæ magni Dei, et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi; qui reformabit corpus humilitatis nostræ, configuratum corpori claritatis suæ."* Cardinal Perraud, who preached his panegyric at Notre Dame on November 17, 1886, compared his passing to that of one of the old patriarchs. In the two volumes in which M. De Follenay has reviewed his well-filled career, every phase of his character and action is described in detail. It leaves upon the reader the impression that Cardinal Guibert was a Bishop cast in the antique mould of the early ages and yet preëminently a man of his time, a great churchman and a great patriot, and one of the noblest ecclesiastical personalities of the nineteenth century.

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DANTE'S REFERENCES TO THE TROUBADOURS.

OUR English word "poet" comes to us from the Greek "poietes," an inventor, maker. Likewise the word "Troubadour," which we have for our consideration in this paper, is derived from the French "trouvèr," to invent or make—to make rhymes or verses. Indeed there was no little ingenuity or inventive skill displayed in the fanciful and intricate rhymes interlacing with each other in the different poems called "sirventèsi, sestines, triolets," etc., according to the number and arrangement of rhymes and stanzas.

Mr. Francis Hueffer, in his essay, "Troubadours, Ancient and Modern," says "the good old-fashioned idea of the troubadour as the minstrel going from land to land singing his songs and twanging his guitar with no object in view but the praise of beauty, and no rule to trammel his affairs—has by this time been pretty generally abandoned." From contemporary history we know that many of the most celebrated troubadours were men of action—twenty-three reigning dukes, counts, princes, kings, out of perhaps four hundred in all. Guilhem IX., Count of Poitiers, born 1071, was one of the earliest and most noted of troubadours. He was the grandfather of Eleanor of Aquitaine, who, after her divorce from Louis VII. of France, married Henry II. of England. Richard Cœur de Lion, Crusader King of England, one of the best known of royal troubadours, will at once recur to mind. All these lords and nobles—kings, princes, counts, viscounts—sang in different strains, sometimes of love, sometimes of war, or they slashed their enemies in bitterest satire.

Bertran de Born, one of the most famous troubadours, not only for his spirited lays, but also for the condign punishment meted out to him by Dante, sang of war. It would be hard indeed to conceive of love strains coming from the lips or lute of such a turbulent, undisciplined, adventuresome spirit as he. And yet, on the death of the "young king," son of Henry II. of England, he poured forth his plaint of sorrow, "planh," in two poems of surpassing beauty. Sordello, too, another adventuresome spirit, sang of love, but his most notable work is the dirge or "planh" on the death of Blacatz, a Provençal baron of Raymond Berenger IV. In this he pours forth the fiercest invectives on all the sovereigns of Europe for their degeneracy.

It will be seen, then, that we must perforce give up the idea that the troubadour went about from castle to castle, singing a

woful ballad to his mistress' eyebrow, or descanting upon the many excellences of her mind and heart. Dante, in the "Vulgari Eloquentia," cites among a number of those who had written in the Vulgar Tongue so as to improve upon it, Bertram de Born on Arms; Arnauld Daniel on Love; Gerard de Borneil on Rectitude, or Righteousness.

But let us take up Dante's references to the troubadours whether they sang of courage, or love, or virtue by following his progress through the dolorous realm, up the precipitous slopes of the Mountain of Penance, and into the supernal regions of Paradise, at least so far as the Third Heaven—that of Venus, where we find Folco of Marseilles.

Bertran de Born, Viscount of Hautefort, near Périguex, as has been already remarked, was one of the most famous of the troubadours. Dante meets in the ninth pit of Malebolgia, where were punished the sowers of discord, a headless body swinging the head by the hair like a lantern before him. He addresses Dante, tells him that because he had given evil counsel to the "young king," son of Henry II., he had set Henry at war with his son until he was slain (1183) in Bertran's own castle:

"I made the father and the son rebels to each other; Ahitophel did not do more with Absalom and David by his malicious instigations.
Because I parted persons thus united, I carry
My brain, ah me! parted from its source
Which is in this trunk. Thus the law of retribution is observed in me." "Inferno" XXVIII., 136-142.

Bertran, born 1140, died c. 1215 in the Cistercian monastery of Dallon, which he had entered twenty years earlier. Before this he had spent his whole life in feudal warfare. Besides setting Henry, whose vassal he was, at war with the young King, who was twice crowned during his father's lifetime, but who never reigned, Bertran sowed dissension between all the brothers and between the King of England and the King of France. Nothing is known of these wars historically, but from the Provençal biographies and prefaces or arguments to Bertran's poems, forty in all.

Bertran is mentioned in the "Convito," IV., 11, 20, as an example of munificence, as well as in "Vulgari Eloquentia" as the poet who wrote of "Arms."

In anti-purgatory, as Vergil and Dante are dubiously seeking their way, they come upon a spirit standing alone, haughty and disdainful. Not till Vergil had answered the question as to his

native city, did this proud spirit vouchsafe reply. Then he leaped towards Vergil and embraced him, saying:

"O Mantuan, I am Sordello of thy city."

This ardor of patriotism shown at the mere mention of his native city on the part of Sordello causes Dante to break forth into his arraignment ("Purg." VI., 76) of all the princes of Italy for their neglect of duty towards their people, their incessant warfare, their greed of power and riches—a most noble and magnificent passage. This love of country kindled by repentance in Sordello's heart does not agree with the facts of his life, for he wandered about from one court to another, his intrigues and amours making it unsafe and impossible to remain long in one place. He was born about 1200, at Goito, a small village near Mantua. He eloped with Cunizza from the castle of her husband, Count Richard of Bonifazzio, taking her to the court of her brother, the infamous and notorious tyrant Ezzelino da Romano. Ere long he was forced to flee from there. At one time of his life we hear of him in Portugal. In 1240 he wrote the "Lamentation" or "Planh" on the death of Blacatz, a poet himself. In this ode or elegy Sordello inveighs against all the sovereigns of Christendom, calling upon them to come eat of the heart of Blacatz, so that they might gain some of the courage and virtue that they so sorely needed. It has been thought that it was this poem that gave Dante the idea of giving to Sordello the place he holds in the "Purgatorio," of pointing out the princes in the flowery vale; and, to use Mr. Edmund Gardner's words in a note to a passage in "Dante's Ten Heavens," "to pass judgment upon these same princes or their heirs or descendants, whom he had rebuked during life." The influence of this same poem of Sordello's is clearly seen in Dante's denunciation of the kings of the earth at the close of the nineteenth canto of the "Paradiso"—another magnificent passage, bearing witness to our poet's love of justice and giving him right to the title of poet of Righteousness which he claimed for himself. There is a reminiscence, too, Mr. Gardner thinks, of Sordello's elegy in the first sonnet of the "Vita Nuova." Again, a further reference to it is to be found in the "Convito," IV., 6. Although Sordello was, as we have seen, an Italian, a Lombard, he did not write in his native dialect, but used the Provençal in all his works, as Dante notes in the "Vulgari Eloquentia" I., 15, 9-15, where he speaks of Sordello's eloquence.

It is most likely that Sordello came to a violent death, such as would be meted out to an unprincipled, licentious adventurer. The place assigned him by Dante—ante-purgatory—denotes that he had

no time for repentance. Not with reluctance we leave him, and may God have mercy on his soul.

Proceeding up the Penitential Mount, we reach the seventh, the last terrace—where are purified those who have been profligate in Love. Here Guido Guinicelli points out to Dante the shade of one who "in verses of love and prose tales of romance all he surpassed." ("Purg." XXVI., 118.) This was Arnauld Daniello. Dante had just called Guido his master, but he, disclaiming this precedence, said that Arnauld "was a better craftsman of the mother-tongue"—"fu mighir fabbro del parlar materno." ("Purg." XXVI., 117.)

Arnauld Daniel, knight of the castle of Ribeyrac, in Perigord, of poor, but noble parentage, flourished in the last quarter of the twelfth century. He was a friend of Bertrand de Born and troubadour at the court of Richard Cœur de Lion. He it was who invented the *sestina.* It is hard to understand the evident bias shown by Dante to this singer over Giraud de Borneil in the passage just quoted from the "Purgatorio," when we call to mind the many passages in the "Vulgari Eloquentia" extolling the verses of Giraud, who is here slightingly spoken of by Dante. "Let fools talk," he says, putting the words into the mouth of Guido Guinicelli, "who think that he of Limoges excels"—"quel di Lemosi." When Dante drew near to the singer, Arnauld, who had been pointed out, he accosted him graciously. Whereupon Arnauld answered him in his native tongue, the Provençal, and said: "I am Arnaut, that weep and go a-singing."

Dante cites him in the "Vulgari Eloquentia" always as the Poet of Love, II., 2, and II., 6. Both Dante and Petrarch placed Arnauld at the head of the Provençal poets, and a higher note of praise is shown in their imitation of his verses.

Gerardus de Borniel is cited in one or two remarkably passages of the "Vulgari Eloquentia" as the poet of Rectitude or Righteousness. Another author attributes a gnomic quality to his poems on account of their high moral tone. He was styled *Il Maestro de' Trovatori.* The invention of the canzone is ascribed to him. Born at the castle of Essedeiul, in Limoges, he was much loved and admired in his day by the kings of Castile, Navarre and Arragon. He died about 1178.

Folco of Marseilles is perhaps the only one of Dante's troubadours who comes up to the old-fashioned idea of one. Dante finds him in the heaven of Venus, by which he had been influenced in his former life; and he tells Dante of his experiences, comparing them as to the ardor of his love to those which befell Dido and two others famed in ancient story, not, however, with their tragic results.

He had paid court at different times to three noble ladies, and the scenes of his life as troubadour had ranged along the shores of the Mediterranean from Genoa, on through Southern France, and into Spain as far as the Ebro, taking in the courts of Castile and Barcelona. This he relates to Dante. He afterwards became a monk, then abbot, then Bishop of Toulouse, dying in 1231. He had taken part in the terrible persecution of the Albigenses. Some authorities quote him as a powerful thinker. Dante through him, reproaches the Popes for their slackness in their efforts to free the Holy Land from the Saracens, and foretells the transfer of the Papal Court to Avignon.

Folco's canzone is quoted by Dante in the "Vulgari Eloquentia." This is specially addressed to three ladies.

That Dante was influenced by the Provençal poets is too obvious to require comment. In the harmonious disposition of his syllables and rhymes and in the use of the Vulgar Tongue for most of his works he could follow. Among his minor poems ranged under the term *canzoniere* are many examples of the *sestina,* with its elaborate chain of rhymed syllables; and among the *canzoni* or odes is one specially beautiful, standing easily first among all such poems—*"Donne, ch' avete intelletto d' amore."*

Guido Cavalcanti, Lapo degli Uberti, Cino da Pistoia, with Dante, were all apt learners of *"il dolce stil nuovo,"* and many were the sonnets and ballades exchanged among them. Dante's idea and conception of love was infinitely higher than that entertained by the troubadours. From the low level of mere gallantry to women and the Courts of Love, his thought soared up to the contemplation of Divine Theology and the "Love that moves the sun and all the stars"—*"L'amor che move il sole el' altre stelle."*

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POLAND AND THE POLES.

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THE sword is the pen, blood and tears the ink with which the history of Poland is written. No country in the world has suffered as Poland has suffered in every way—physically, mentally, morally, intellectually, spiritually, as a nation, as individuals. It seems impossible to write calmly of the Poles and what was once their country, for the map of Europe contains no kingdom of Poland now, and unless the new map at present under course of construction assigns a place to a new, free, independent, united kingdom of Poland, this war will have been waged in vain.

The great Polish mystic, Towianski, taught that Poland was the Messianic nation, suffering for the sins of the world and working out by her suffering the salvation of mankind. Poland's three greatest modern poets, Michiewitz, Slowaki and Krasinski, all of whom were mystics and influenced by Towianski, have followed his teaching in this respect.

A celebrated French writer, Victor Cherbuliez, said of Poland "that she was not only a nation condemned to death, but buried alive, and yet continually lifting the lid of her coffin to show she was not dead." And the pity of it is, it is true. Downtrodden, crushed, oppressed, starving, suffering, bleeding, poverty-stricken as Poland is, the flame of patriotism burns brightly in all her three divisions—in Russian, Austrian and German Poland. Patriotism is to the Poles what religion is to other nations; it is to them the most sacred of all the virtues, the one predominant passion among old and young, peasant and noble, rich and poor, men and women, especially women, is patriotism. A free, independent, united Poland is the vision of the old men, the dream of the young. No Irishman longs for Home Rule more passionately than the Poles long for freedom, for independence, for autonomy, for the restoration of their kingdom. Love of their mother country, its language and literature is not only innate in every Pole, but it is a sacred fire that cannot be extinguished; the many waters of tears shed in

Poland cannot quench that love, and the persistent aim and object of life of every Polish man, woman and child, to which even religious aims are subordinate, is the restoration of their country. No one who has not either visited Poland or known Poles can realize how soul-absorbing a passion their patriotism is. Other nations may count it fanaticism, but none can deny it is a noble virtue, although we may regret that, at any rate before the present war, which has altered so many things, the tendency in Poland was to allow patriotism to usurp the predominant place to which the Catholic religion is entitled in a Catholic country. And here it may be remarked that as far as the Poles are concerned, Catholicism has little to fear from the Orthodox religion and less from Lutheranism, for few if any Poles will ever now voluntarily forsake Catholicity for either of these. But freethinking among the party which is identified with what is known as Young Poland, and this all-absorbing yearning for Polish autonomy, and this fervent love of all that a free, independent kingdom of Poland means to them are dangerous rivals to the Church, and before the war freethinking was on the increase, especially in Russian Poland. Austria being a Catholic country, the danger there is less, because religious liberty is allowed; indeed, the Austrian Poles in Galicia enjoy or did enjoy much greater liberty in every way than the German or Russian Poles. But this freethinking is so mixed up with patriotic aspirations for freedom that it is less deadly than in other countries, and much of it is due rather to circumstances than to intellectual conviction.

Poland was the most important power in Europe during the whole of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and she extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and from the Dnieper to the Elbe and Oder, and covered an area of 20,000 square miles. Then in the zenith of her fame she was a great Catholic power. In the fourteenth century the Hussites had given trouble, but it was not until the Reformation that Protestantism gained any real sway; it was absolutely distasteful to the Polish nature, and the fact that Luther was a German would in any case have set them against it, but in 1518 there was an outburst of militant Protestantism in Dantzic and the Prussian provinces, and this penetrated to Cracow and was at its height in 1559. Edicts were issued against it at Thorn, Grodno and Cracow, but it made way and was tolerated until the arrival of the Jesuits in 1564, and they immediately established schools of their own and got those which were in existence into their hands, with excellent results. This was in the reign of Sigismund III., when the celebrated Jesuit, Peter Skarga, who brought back to the Church most of the Polish nobility, fought against Calvinism. He was a great preacher and was called the Polish Chrysostom; he converted among others the Calvinist Pole, Prince Christopher Radziwill, whose father had translated the Bible into Polish, but after his con-

version Christopher burnt it publicly. Skarga was court chaplain to Sigismund III., who was a most devout and zealous Catholic. Skarga foretold the partition of Poland in a sermon preached before the Diet; he also wrote a history of the saints, first published in Cracow in 1603, and the twentieth edition was published in Lemberg in 1855. Skarga was a great Polish patriot, and it was as much from patriotic as from religious motives that he wrote his famous book on the union of the Catholic Church with the Orthodox, to strengthen the union of the two States of Poland and Lithuania. The Jesuits all favored this policy, but only under the conditions drawn up by Peter Skarga. These were first that the Metropolitan of the Western Russian Church, the Archbishop of Kiev, should be consecrated by the Pope instead of by the Patriarch of Constantinople.

Secondly, that the Orthodox Catholics should acknowledge the supremacy of the Church of Rome.

Thirdly, that the Russian liturgy and all the ceremonies of the Orthodox Church should remain intact.

In 1596, after the Council of Brest, Pope Clement VIII. published the Bull "Magnus Dominus et laudabilis nimis," which received the Ruthenians, as they are now called, into the Catholic Church. These are mostly the natives of Little (or Red) Russia who live in Eastern Russia and Southeastern Poland; they have a married clergy and their liturgy is translated from the Greek into old Slavonic.

This union did not have the desired effect politically nor ecclesiastically, inasmuch as the Poles never have been and never will be united with their conquerors until their kingdom is restored to them, and the union of Catholics and Orthodox divided the Orthodox into two bodies, the Uniates or Ruthenians, in communion with Rome, and the Disunited, who refused to be united with her.

The Ruthenians were first converted to Christianity in the reign of Wladimir the Great, but soon fell into schism. The Jesuits were not established in Poland until the glorious reign of Stephen Bathori (1576-1586); he established them in Cracow, Riga, Posen and other places.

The Poles in Russian Poland show the greatest reverence and respect to the Catholic clergy and the greatest contempt for those of the Orthodox religion, and the fact that these are generally married does not modify their contempt.

There are a good many Jews in Poland, but all, Poles, Jews and Christians alike, are united in their patriotism and longing for freedom, for althongh the Jews do not suffer as the Catholics do by attempts to force the Orthodox religion upon them in Russian Poland, they have suffered equally in all other ways; their children

have been deported to Russia as well as Catholic children, and the suppression of the Polish language and literature is as galling to them as it is to their Christian brothers. Jews and Christians alike are arrested and exiled to Siberia for long years if found guilty of any attempt at conspiracy against the Russian Government, and frequently for very trivial offenses.

It is forbidden to speak Polish in the streets in Lithuania, Podolia and Volhynia; it is forbidden in the schools, where all the education is given in Russian. The only place where Polish may be spoken in public is the theatre, and for this reason Catholic priests are given permission by their superiors to go to the theatre, to encourage the drama and preserve the language; the theatre, too, is the only public place in which the beautiful Polish national dress may be worn (on the stage only "bien entendu.") The peasants are forced to wear hideous nondescript garments instead of their artistic national costume. This for the nobles is made in the most costly materials and most beautifully embroidered. The wide sash, made of the richest brocaded silk ribbon, is a conspicuous part of a Polish gentleman's dress. The fiery red plume in their helmets, which stands for splendor, grandeur and glory, all of which are most dear to the Polish nature, is a very significant feature in their dress and an unconscious symbol of Polish character, for the Poles passionately love all that it means to them.

Beniowski[1] has said of this plume: "I see that God is not the God of worms or of creeping things; He is the fiery plume on the proud helmet." It would be easy to appraise the fiery plume more reverently, but difficult to value it higher than in this strange saying.

The Polish ensign of the white eagle is derived from the legend of St. Stanislaus, whose fate was so like that of St. Thomas of Canterbury; he is one of the patron saints of Poland, St. Adelbert being the other. St. Stanislaus was Bishop of Cracow, and was assassinated between the porch and the altar by Bodislaw II. His body was slashed into pieces afterwards and given to birds of prey, but two white eagles protected it, and the monks took it and buried it.

Of course, all national orders, or medals, or decorations of any kind that are of Polish origin are strictly forbidden to be worn in Russian or German Poland by the Government; but fond as they are of display, no Pole will wear a foreign order or medal, and will even hang one round a naughty child's neck as a punishment, such a disgrace is it accounted to wear a Russian or German decoration. The Poles are essentially aristocrats, but they seldom or ever use their titles, especially those that have been conferred upon

[1] "Memoirs of Count Beniowski," 1904.

them by foreigners. The middle class is small. Much as they love freedom, the nobility and upper classes are most autocratic to the peasants and servants; the latter are most humble in their attitude to their masters, kissing not their hands, but the sleeve of their coats.

The Polish character, while possessing some admirable qualities, is fuller of inconsistencies than perhaps any other nation's is. They are brave and chivalrous, intensely proud, passionately patriotic, intellectual, brilliantly clever, shining in all the arts, but at the same time unpractical, inconstant, pleasure-loving, despising hard work, easily over-reached in trade and all business matters, hospitable as the Irish, extravagant, unstable as water, like Reuben, whose curse, "thou shalt not excel," appears to have fallen upon them. The Russians have a proverb, "as brave as a Pole."

They are called the French of the North or East, but they differ greatly from the French in many respects, and have not their strength of character, nor their mervelous power of organization shown in the present war. The Poles speak French better even than the Russians, and the upper classes in their family life prefer it to their native language. They are great linguists, and often speak six languages, and they know the literature of most European countries well; they are very fond of travel. They are most chivalrous in their attitude to women, for whom they have a great respect. Some writers think the Polish women superior intellectually to the men. They are just as passionately fond of freedom and of their country as the men; indeed, the women are often the better patriots. In the past they have actually fought for it frequently, and the restoration of the kingdom of Poland is never absent from their minds. They make every social gathering or charitable work subservient to that end. It is the women who keep the flame of patriotism burning; as they are the more devout sex, so are they the more patriotic, and as we have seen, in Poland religion and patriotism are twin sisters.

When their husbands or fathers are exiled to Siberia the Polish women will often voluntarily accompany them, braving all the horrors of the long journey.

Before the war Poland was a very rich country, as there was a great deal of wealth among the nobility and upper classes. Now, of course, the poverty is too terrible for words, and the poor who are homeless are dying of hunger. No country, not even Belgium or Serbia, has suffered so dreadfully in this war as Poland.

At the best of times the great plain of Poland presents a desolate appearance; in winter it is white with snow, in summer brown with stunted trees, spoilt by the cold winds which howl across it.

The extensive cultivation of potatoes and beet root does not add to the beauty of the landscape, while the villages consist mostly of plaster huts. The main roads are few and only between the great cities, the most famous of which is called the Jerusalem road, these roads now are crowded with refugees fleeing either on foot or in carts, with their few sticks of furniture piled up, with the women and children on the top of them. Warsaw is filled with refugees, officers, wounded soldiers and troops passing through.

The Polish nobility have contributed magnificently in money to the aid of the refugees and wounded and in personal help also. At the fall of Warsaw a Polish prince drove a field ambulance and a Polish princess gave up her house as a hospital, while Polish countesses are working hard as nurses, tending the wounded and sick with devoted care.

The geographical position of Poland is no doubt responsible for much of its suffering, from the first partition of Poland up to the present war. Surrounded as it is by Russia, Germany and Austria, with no outlet to the sea since it lost Dantzig, it has ever been a buffer State, and now it is hemmed in by a network of German and Austrian railways, which run up to the frontier on the north, the west and the south, while Poland itself has very few railways, and Russia on the east also has a good supply, so that the little piece of Europe still called Poland is encircled with this constant menace of means of invasion.

The only navigable river is the Vistula, running through the midst of the country. The other rivers are like the Bzura, where there has recently been such terrible fighting, narrow, sluggish tributaries of the Vistula, and most of them, as the Bzura, have steep banks thirty feet deep. In South Poland pine forests run parallel with most of the rivers, for this part is better wooded.

When the present war broke out Russia was distrustful of the attitude of Poland and uncertain what part she would play, which is probably the reason that she did not advance sooner through Poland to threaten Silesia. The Czar's promise of Polish autonomy at the beginning of the war had subdued the tendency to insurrection against the Russian Government and appealed to the loyalty of the Poles, which the Germans by casting leaflets from aeroplanes are constantly trying to deflect to themselves. It was not, however, until the Grand Duke Nicholas' proclamation of liberty for the Poles was issued that Russian fears were removed, and the Poles, who received it with the greatest joy, then professed absolute loyalty to Russia.

In writing of the horrors of this war for the Russian Poles it must be remembered that the front ranks of the enemy are German

and Austrian Poles, purposely placed there to fight against their brothers, and a Pole is a Pole before he is a German or an Austrian, or any other nationality but his own.

The Austrian Poles are far better off than the German or Russian Poles. To begin with, their religion is the same; Poles and Austrians, whatever else they may be, are equally good Catholics, so that there are no religious difficulties to contend with, and in fact the Poles in Austria are allowed all but nominal autonomy; they are even allowed to carry their own banners with the Polish white eagles on them on feast days; the Polish language is allowed to be used in the schools. On the other hand, the poverty in Galicia of the Poles is so great that when war broke out and again when the Archduke's proclamation was made they were tempted to join the Allies, and some did desert. The land in Galicia is poorer than the worst parts of Ireland, and the Poles here are poorer even than the German Poles at Posen.

The Poles all hate the Germans and the German yoke, and they have been tricked so often by them that they hesitate to accept any of their promises. At the same time, when the Germans wilily offered them the Province of Posen, including Dantzig, if they would support the Central Powers, the temptation to accept the offer was very great. On the one hand the Poles saw starvation staring them in the face, on the other an outlet to the sea such as Dantzig provides would mean all the difference between poverty and prosperity. Yet if they accept this offer their national pride, which is so strong a passion, would suffer a severe mortification, for a German prince would then be imposed upon them instead of a Polish sovereign, and no foreign ruler will ever satisfy Polish aspirations for independence.

Besides all the physical sufferings of Poland, such as starvation, privation, ghastly poverty, oppression of every kind, and often persecution, there is also the mental agony their situation causes them of having to choose between the realization of all their highest hopes and patriotic aspirations and the amelioration of their temporal sufferings. The misery of Poland is greater than that of Belgium, but it is further from us, so we fail to realize it.

All the smaller Slav nations have suffered more or less in the past or are now, as the Serbs, suffering equally with the Poles, from the Czechs, the Poles and the Ruthenes on the north, to the Serbs, the Slovenes and Croats on the south. Modern civilization, although checked by the wave of barbarism which is now sweeping over Europe, is facilitating communications between all these smaller Slav nations, and thereby paving the way for future efforts

to realize the dream of the Pan-Slavists. Austria is the country most concerned in this very knotty question, which has so many ramifications and aspects, and the settlement of it is vital for her. Most of the Czechs or Bohemians, the Poles, the Croats and Slovenes are Catholics; the Ruthenes, who hate the Poles, are Uniates, as we said before, and the Serbs, Orthodox. The Serbs and the Ruthenes use the Cyrillic alphabet, like the Bulgarians and Russians; the other Slavs, the Roman characters. This does not facilitate communications. At the present time there is an anti-Catholic movement among the Ruthenes or Red Russians, who are a nation of peasants, with a poor language and little culture, and there is a tendency to revert to the Ohthodox religion.

We have said that the Poles are a very talented nation; they are also very intellectual and naturally very energetic, but they have no scope for their talents and suffer an intellectual martyrdom in consequence, for there is no profession open to them to which they can attain any eminence without sacrificing their principles.

They are therefore constantly changing their profession. A man will begin life as a doctor, a few years after will study law, and after practicing for a few years as a solicitor will take to literature. They are hampered with all kinds of restrictions; for instance, they are very fond of dancing and very proud of their national dance, the Polish mazurka; not the mazurka danced in England, but they are not allowed to dance this in their national costume. No public meetings or gatherings of any kind are permitted, no places of amusement are open except the theatre, and they live in dread of the deprivation of that pleasure, and all this was before the war in Russian Poland. More liberty was allowed in Austrian Poland, less in German Poland, where all restrictions are far more galling and much stricter. There Polish children were flogged in school for refusing to learn the Pater Noster in German, though willing enough to say it in Polish.

In Warsaw University it is forbidden to speak of the history or literature of Poland after the year 1500. When we remember that the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were the period of Poland's greatest prosperity and importance in Europe and that the golden age of her literature was from 1540 to 1600, we can imagine how bitterly the Poles must resent this intellectual tyranny, though we may see the wisdom of it from a Russian point of view.

The censorship is so strict in Russian Poland that no book or newspaper that may come into the country is delivered until it has been examined by the censor and any objectionable passages blotted out, while the censorship of the native Polish press, whether of books, newspapers, magazines, plays, songs or lectures, is still

stricter, and causes necessarily much vexatious delay in publication, especially with newspapers.

The result of all this censoring is that Polish writers are driven to express their national feelings in allegory and figures of speech, using types and symbols understood by every Pole, but often not understood and therefore not suppressed by the Russian censor. A modern Polish author named Olgerd wrote a Polish "Legend of the Virgin Mary," which had a great success, mainly because of its veiled patriotism and from the fact that the mystical meaning of the whole book, which every Pole could interpret, although the Russian censor did not, was that Poland was the Blessed Virgin, who was formerly called "Virgo Maria, Regina Poloniae."

The only other way to give vent to their patriotic sentiments is to do as the three great nineteenth century mystical poets, Michiewitz, Slowaki and Krazinski, did, and leave Poland and live in a foreign land and there publish their poems.

Michiewitz is considered by some modern critics a greater poet than the Polish Shakespeare, Kochanowski, who lived from 1530 to 1584, and is greatly admired by Michiewitz. Of these three modern poets, Michiewitz and Slowaki are the poets of vengeance, Krazinski the poet of love. The latter said of Poland that it was a land of graves and crosses, and it is true that the tall wooden crosses, not Crucifixes, in the Polish churchyards are one of the features of the landscape on the great wide plain. But even these cannot be renewed or erected without permission from the Russian Government, often refused, and always long delayed.

Slowaki, although an ardent Catholic, wrote bitterly against the Papacy when Gregory XVI. condemned the Polish rising of 1862 in a letter to the Polish Bishops, and ignorant of the cruelties the Catholic Poles were enduring at the hands of the Russians, commanded the Poles to be loyal to the Czar.

Krazinski saw no hope of a speedy resurrection of Poland. On the contrary, he believed all Western civilization was doomed and Christianity dying, but his pessimism was probably due largely to his health, for he was very delicate and suffered greatly.

Michiewitz died in Turkey in 1855 trying to raise an army against Russia. Slowaki died in 1849 at the early age of thirty-seven from a painful disease, which made him irritable and quarrelsome and envious of his two contemporaries, Michiewitz, whom he hated, and his friend Krazinski, with whom he quarreled.

The famous Danish writer, Brandes, a great lover of Poland, who has visited Poland many times and written much upon her[2] and the Poles and suffered much from the Russian censors when

[2] We have quoted him frequently in this article.

he lectured in Warsaw, says that "of the three winged spirits of Poland, Michiewitz is the eagle, Slowaki the peacock and Krazinski the swan."

We have already seen that the Jesuit, Peter Skarga, and the poet Krazinski both foresaw the ruin of Poland. There was another Pole, the great Sobieski, who reigned under the title of John III., who also foretold the ruin of Poland on his deathbed, when he died broken-hearted, and also when he told the Senate in 1690 "that posterity would be stupefied to learn that the only result of so many Polish victories and triumphs, shedding an eternal glory on the name of Poland throughout the world, would be, God help us, irreparable ruin and damnation. Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be destroyed."

He died in 1696, and in 1773 the first partition of Poland took place at Grodno; the second partition was twenty years later, in 1793, and the third in 1795, when Poland was practically wiped off the map of Europe, and what Austria and Germany did not get of her, Russia did.

It has been well said that "we do not love Poland as we love France or England, but as we love freedom," and it is for freedom that we are fighting in this war. If Poland is not liberated at the end of it, all the smaller nations will fall under military rule, instead of under the will of the people. All the hopes of the Poles were fixed on the great war so long expected by every one who had eyes to see the signs of the times, which an intelligent people like the Poles could not fail to read long before it broke out, and if it fails to bring autonomy and independence and the right to lead their own lives to the Poles and the other smaller nations, all the precious lives lost will have been sacrificed in vain.

We have said nothing here of the sufferings of the Poles who are exiled to Siberia, for political offenses against the Russian Government, but for a highly colored account of the terrible journey thither we may refer the reader to the "Memoirs of Count Beniowski," a book of world-wide reputation, which was first published in an English translation by Captain Oliver in 1904. Beniowski was an adventurer and possessed all the best and worst qualities of the Poles. Brave as a lion, untruthful as Munchausen, his memoirs are nevertheless excellent reading, and describe his journey as a Russian prisoner of war from St. Petersburg, as Petrograd was then called, quite across the whole vast extent of Siberia to Kamchatka and his life there and escape thence. He lived in the eighteenth century, and after fighting against the Russians in the Polish troubles of 1768-9 was made prisoner, treated with great indignities and exiled to Siberia. He escaped from Kamchatka

by sea, and was eventually killed in action by the French in Madagascar, whither he had gone to supply slaves to America in 1786.

Another celebrated book of Polish memoirs is those of John Chrysostom Pasek, who lived in the latter part of the seventeenth century. He was a Polish nobleman, born at Masovia, and wrote his memoirs in 1769, but they were not published till the nineteenth century. They have been translated into English and are said to be very curious.

Mediæval Polish writers wrote in Latin; of these the most celebrated was Martin Gallus, who wrote between the years 1110 and 1113. He is said to have been a monk of St. Gall, but a more modern theory is that he was a Walloon monk and afterwards Bishop of Kruzwicka. His works are full of legends and his style is lively; he translated into Latin an old Polish poem on Bodeslaw the Brave.

Two other mediæval Polish writers who wrote in Latin were the two Bishops of Cracow, Kudlebec and Bogufal; the latter lived from 1160 to 1223, the former a little earlier. Cracow was the capital of Poland in mediæval times; Warsaw did not become so till the eighteenth century.

The University of Cracow was founded in 1364; Copernicus studied there. The beautiful Gothic Cathedral of Cracow, which has several other very fine churches, was built between 1320 and 1359. It contained before the present war monuments of many celebrated Poles, including Jagiello or Ladislaw II., and his descendants, the patriots Sobieski, who reigned under the title of John III., and Kosciuzko. It is adorned with some of Thorwaldsen's finest works, if they have not been carried off to Germany, with all the pianos in Galicia, in the trains that brought the German troops there.

The chief see in Poland is the archiepiscopal one of Gnesen, founded by Bodislaw the Great in the eleventh century, who must not be confused with Bodislaw II., the murderer of St. Stanislaus, who was once Bishop of Cracow.

The earliest Polish manuscript is the Psalter of Queen Margaret, the wife of Louis of Hungary; it dates from the middle of the fourteenth century; she died in 1349. She was the mother of one of Poland's most famous Queens, Jadwiga or Hedwiga, who succeeded to the throne of Poland on the death of her father, King Louis of Hungary, her elder sister, Maria, inheriting the crown of Hungary. She married the Grand Duke Jagiello, a Lithuanian nobleman and a pagan. She consented to do this for political reasons on condition that he was baptized first. He agreed to this proposal and was baptized in Cracow Cathedral three days before

his marriage with Jagwitha in 1384. He took the name of Ladislaus and reigned under the title of Ladislaus II., but he is better known under his dynastic name of Jagiello. On his conversion the whole of the Lithuanian nation was formally received into the Catholic Church. He reigned for forty-one years and gradually raised Poland to a great power.

His second son, who succeeded him under the title of Casimir IV., did more for Poland than perhaps any other king; he united Lithuania to the Polish crown, but ever since this beginning of the union a struggle has gone on between the Catholic Church and the Orthodox religion, which the Lithuanians appear to prefer.

The last of the Jagiellan kings was Sigismund II. The monarchy then became elective, and Henry of Valois was the first elected monarch, but he only reigned four months and then ran away.

There is no ancient history of Poland; its legendary lore is very poor, and very few Polish songs or ballads have come down to us. The language resembles Wendish and the Czech or Bohemian language. Nothing certain of Poland's history is known until the close of the tenth century. Between the years 962 and 992 the country was converted to Christianity by the Orthodox Church, but in the reign of Bodeslaw the Great, to obtain the protection of the Holy See against the Germans, the Poles were converted to the Catholic Church, and it was then that the primatial See of Gnesen was founded and the Bishoprics of Cracow, Breslau and Kolberg were placed under it.

A later mediæval writer on Polish history was Martin Kromer, who lived from 1512 to 1589; he wrote in Latin during the golden age of Polish literature. The prince of Polish poets, Kochanowski, lived during this period. His most celebrated work was written on the death of his daughter Ursula, and bears the singular appropriate title for a Polish chef d'œuvre of the Lamentations.

At the conclusion of the golden age, which is supposed to have terminated in 1606, Polish literature became so interlarded with Latin that the name of the macaronic age was given to it; this lasted until 1764. A writer who lived about the time of the last division of Poland and described all that happened then most graphically was a shoemaker, named Jan Kalinski, whose memoirs are considered a most valuable contribution to the history of that period.

One of the most celebrated authoresses of Poland was the novelist, Klementina Hoffman, whose novels are still much read, although she wrote in the first half of the nineteenth century; she was born in 1798.

Besides the manuscript Psalter of Queen Margaret already men-

tioned, Cracow also did possess a manuscript Bible dating from 1455, which belonged to Queen Sophia, the ambitious Czarina of Russia, who conquered the Poles and imposed the disgraceful treaty of Moscow upon them in 1689. Whether this manuscript is still in existence or what has become of it, is a question which cannot be answered at present, for most of the best Polish works of art and valuable books and church ornaments were carried off to Russia long before the present war, and what remained have probably gone to Germany, for we hear constantly of trains of loot going from Galicia to Germany. It is to be hoped that when peace is declared Poland will get back some of her material treasures as well as her freedom and independence.

Since writing the above news of the abdication of Nicholas II. and the Russian revolution has startled the world. This war is so full of dramatic surprises that it is useless to attempt to prognosticate what effect these events may have on Poland's fate, but the fact that the Provisional Government of Russia has already expressed its intention of securing autonomy for the Poles leads us to hope that the dawn of a happier era is breaking for this most unhappy country, whose glorious past and miserable present appeal to the generosity of every nation.

DARLEY DALE.

CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM IN THE EARLIEST GREEK CHURCH.

MYSTICISM IN THE WRITINGS OF THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

THE Greek Apostolic Fathers, as well as their immediate successors, borrowed their mystical experiences and terms, and sometimes their glowing words of divine love, from the Pauline writings. St. Paul was, indeed, the teacher of the mystical life to the earliest Greek Christianity. As von Hügel truly observes, "St. Paul, in his mystical outbursts and in the systematic parts of his doctrine, gives us the earliest, one of the deepest, and, to this hour, by far the most influential among the at all detailed experiences and schemes as to the relations of the human soul with God."[1] This mystical voice of St. Paul sounds clearly in the earliest Greek Fathers till Irenæus.

Yet it deserves to be noted that we cannot find in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers either a scientific systematizing of mystical experiences or their philosophical elaboration. In the first century of the Christian religion mysticism was rather felt and lived than perceived and analyzed. The Christian life was filled with the gifts of the Holy Spirit and redeemed souls felt the immediate presence of the indwelling God. The writings of the Apostolic Fathers point out with sufficient clearness the ecstatic character of the primitive Church. They raise their voices as charismatic teachers in the fullest consciousness of having received the Spirit of God. They reveal the mysteries of the Deity as spiritual leaders enlightened by the Light from above. Their mystical ejaculations are not hemmed with the fringes of a literary brilliancy or involved in the flights of a pagan language of mystery. They are endowed with a strong mystical temperament, but they do not deserve the name of the scholars, the legislators, of Christian mysticism.[2]

In the writings of the Apostolic Fathers the first and third stages of the *scala perfectionis*, the purgative and unitive lives, are clearly expressed, while the second, the illuminative life, is scantily outlined. The mysticism of the apostolic age is marked by strong Pauline features; above all, in the letters of St. Ignatius of Antioch. With him, in fact, starts the first page of the story of Christian mysticism. "In him," says Sweete, "there is a vein of mysticism which suggests that he is to be ranked with Clement of Alexandria and the pseudo-Dionysius rather than with the great champions of dogmatic orthodoxy."[3]

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[1] "The Mystical Element of Religion." London, 1909, Vol. II., p. 320.
[2] Aube, "Saint Justin." Paris, 1861, p. 13.
[3] "Patristic Study." London, 1902, pp. 16-17.

This primeval mysticism of the Greek patristic literature is grounded upon an ethical basis rather than upon the voluntary crucifixion of an ascetic life. The purgative stage is symbolized by the allegory of the two ways, the one of life and the other of death, an allegory derived from a Jewish source and introduced into Christian literature by the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" and the "Epistle of Barnabas." By means of the purgative stage the redeemed soul is called to the highest reward, to the perfect likeness of God,to become a spiritual temple, the sanctuary of God,[4] a spiritual creature.[5] It is by tribulations and sufferings that Christian souls will be able to reach the sunlit heights of the eternal life.[6] They must be freed from earthly cares and sordid passions; they must seek the things which are pleasing and acceptable to God; they must cast away from themselves all iniquity.[7] The end of the Christian life is the imitation of God. Christians ought to be *imitatores Dei*, says Ignatius (Eph. 1.) to attain a perfect moral conformity with God, to fix in their souls the dominant feature of the divine beauty.[8]

In later Greek mysticism the ascetic life, a ceaseless desire to crucify the flesh became an essential requisite to the perfect union of the believing soul with Christ. But for the Apostolic Fathers a thoroughly virtuous and religious life, even stripped of the voluntary crucifixion of asceticism, leads Christian souls to receive the full outpouring of the Holy Spirit.[9]

The first Christianity as it is portrayed by the Apostolic Fathers and the Greek Fathers of the second century is wholly penetrated by the inrushing tides of the Holy Spirit, that is, lives and moves within an atmosphere of the loftiest mysticism. Every member of the Church is conscious of having received the Holy Spirit, of being ruled by Him in the way of Christian perfection, of possessing special charismata. The Church itself, as it appears from the writings of Ignatius and Hermas, has a mystical existence apart from its outward life.[10]

The Greek Fathers of the primitive Church testify to that charismatic shape with which was clothed the earliest Christian brotherhood. S. Irenæus describes the perfect man indwelt by the Spirit of the Father. "We have heard," he says, "that many brethren in the Church possess prophetic gifts, and through the Spirit speak all

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4 "Ep. Barn.," VI., 15.
5 *Ib.*, IV., 2.
6 *Ib.*, VII., 11.
7 I. "Clem.," 35.
8 "Magn.," 6; Lightfoot, "The Apostolic Fathers," II., 1889, p. 120.
9 I. "Clem.," II.
10 Durell, "The Historic Church," Cambridge, 1906, pp. 24-25; Lowrie, "The Church and its Primitive Organization," London, 1904, p. 147.

kinds of languages, and bring to light for the general benefit the hidden things of men and declare the mysteries of God.[11] These supernatural gifts, described *ib.*, II., 32, 4, cannot be explained without admitting a powerful influence of the Holy Spirit permeating at that time the life of the Church. Origen[12] and Eusebius[13] declare that at the end of the second century the charismatic outpouring of the Holy Spirit survived in a few persons who had their souls purified by the Gospel and their actions regulated by its influence, and that by these men, filled with His holiness, the Holy Spirit wrought many wonders so that Gentiles embraced the true faith.[14] No doubt the meaning of the word *charisma* in the earliest Christian literature is not well defined, and sometimes extends to gifts that belong to the natural powers of human nature.[15] But on the other hand, the tradition of the fathers is unanimous that the Holy Spirit in the primitive Church, was guiding and inspiring the followers of Christ, enlightening their minds and strengthening their hearts and furthering the communion of souls with God.

In the writings of the Apostolic Fathers there is no clear division of the mystical stages. They are perhaps outlined in a very difficult, and almost unintelligible, passage of the "Epistle of Barnabas," which in the translation of Hoole reads as follows: "There are three doctrines ordained of the Lord—the hope of life, the beginning and the end. For the Master hath made known unto us by the prophets the things which are past, and the things which are at hand, and hath given us the first fruits of the knowledge of the things that are to come."[16] According to this reading the hope of life is given us by freeing ourselves from earthliness, that is, by the purgative life; the beginning consists in the empirical knowledge of Christ. The end culminates in the possession of God by the mystical union. The above passage, in accordance with the text edited by Harnack, is rendered by Lightfoot as follows: "There are three ordinances of the Lord—the hope of life, which is the beginning and end of our faith, and righteousness, which is the beginning and end of judgment; love shown in gladness and exultation, the testimony of works of righteousness." But even in this translation we have an attempt at distinguishing the stages of the mystical life. Faith is the force from above that impels the believing soul into the righteous life; righteousness opens to it the

[11] "Adv. Haer.," V., 6, 1.

[12] "Contra Celsum," VII., 8.

[13] "Hist. Eccl.," I., 2. 46; II., 8.

[14] Eusebius III., 37; V., 3; Engelmann, "Von den Charismen in Allegemeinen," Regensburg, 1848, pp. 158-165.

[15] Bruders, "Die Verfassung der Kirche," Mainz, 1904, pp. 72-74.

[16] "Ep. Barn.," I.

mysteries of the divine life; love quickens the soul with the gladness and exultation begotten in it by conscious fellowship with God.

The interior knowledge of God, which is the chief aim of mysticism, is divided into several degrees by the writer of the "Epistle of Barnabas," but it is difficult to say in what they are distinguished from each other. These degrees are called: *sofia, synesis, epistimi, gnosis* (11, 2.) The *gnosis* is the perfect knowledge of the spiritual man.

In general, the Greek mystics of the first century lay stress upon *faith* as leading to communion with God, and *love,* as achieving it. With a characteristic strength of expression, Ignatius says that faith is the beginning of life, love the end of it, and the two in union are God. (Eph., XIV.) Faith and love build up the perfect Christian. (Eph., XX.) These two, being inseparably connected, form the perfect man of God, while all other things which are requisite to a holy life follow after them (Eph., XIV.) The perfect man believes in love.[17] Love is emphasized by Ignatius as the source of a newness of life, as the ground of Christian perfection.[18]

Some hints as to the illuminative stage of the mystical life we find in the following passage of Clement of Rome: "By Jesus Christ we look up to the heights of heaven. By Him are the eyes of our hearts opened. By Him our foolish and darkened understanding blossoms up anew toward His marvelous light. By Him the Lord has willed that we should taste of immortal knowledge."[19] The meaning of that passage need not be explained. The chief aspiration of the mystical life is a practical knowledge of God, which shall pierce the veil of the mysteries of the divine life and bestow upon us on earth a foreshadowing of the splendors of the full vision of God in heaven. And Clement declares that the acquisition of such a lofty knowledge of divine things by the influence of Christ is one of the consoling realities brought about in our earthly life by the Christian revelation. The contemplation of God kindles within us the flames of that love, which, according to Clement of Rome, unites us to God and moves God to take us to Himself.[20] And, enlightened by faith and fired by love, men are no longer men; they become angels, as the martyrs of the earliest Church.[21]

But it is in the letters of St. Ignatius that we enjoy the richest deposit of mystical truths and experiences. The glowing spirit of Pauline mysticism pervades the writings of the Bishop-martyr

[17] "Philadelph., IX.; "Smyrn.," VII.
[18] "Smyrn., I.
[19] I., 36.
[20] I., 49.
[21] "Martyr. Polycarpi.," II.

of Antioch. Theodore of Studium has perfectly described Ignatius by saying that his heart was fired with the love of Christ, and that the passionate lyric of Paul revives in his letters.[22] Tides of spiritual light flowed in his soul, says John Chrysostom.[23] As a mystical temperament is a nature exalted by the intensest love of Christ, St. Ignatius is a rough but at the same time a lively and vigorous poet of the ascents of the human soul to Christ, the centre and focus of the mystical life.[24] His letters make plain the inconsistency of the saying of Inge that Christian mysticism appears in history as an intellectual movement, the foster child of Platonic idealism.[25]

The strongest flights of Ignatius' mysticism, which is the truest expression of the mysticism of St. Paul, are the genuine offspring of the teaching of Jesus Christ, whom the Bishop of Antioch calls his "archives."[26] Jesus Christ is the same knowledge of God (Eph., XVII.), the new leaven of our spiritual life.[27]

The end of the true life is the constant indwelling of God in the believing soul: "Let us, therefore, do all things as knowing that He dwelleth in us, to the end that we may be His temples, and He Himself may be in us as our God" (Eph., XV.). In order to live in Christ and to have Christ living in us, the purification of the soul is the preliminary step. A Christian longing for the heights of the mystical life must do nothing according to the flesh, but all things according to the spirit (Eph. VIII.). This purgative stage is followed by a distaste for earthliness and a vital impulse toward God.

In his letter to the Romans, Ignatius expresses himself as follows: "My lust has been crucified, and there is no fire of material longing in me, but only water living and speaking in me, saying within me, 'Come to the Father.' I have no joy in the food of corruption or in the delights of this life." (Rom. VII.) The purified soul not only despises earthly things and lusts; it wants to die to the world, in order to be possessed of Christ. In touching words Ignatius expresses the double aspiration of his soul: "It is good for me to die for Jesus Christ rather than to reign over the farthest bounds of the earth. Him I seek who died on our behalf. Him I desire who rose again. The pangs of a new birth are upon me." (Rom. VI.) The end of his life, that is, the possession of God, the at-

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[22] Migne, P. G., XCIX., 1798.

[23] "In S. Ignatium," Migne, P. G., L., 588.

[24] See Pfleiderer, "Primitive Christianity," London, 1910, III., p. 364.

[25] "Christian Mysticism," London, 1899, p. 22.

[26] "Philadelph.," VII.; Bruston, "Ignace d'Antioche," Paris, 1897, pp. 207, 215.

[27] "Magn.," X.

tainment of Christ, culminates in love for suffering, in identification with the Crucified Christ. As, long centuries later, St. Teresa cried out: "Let me suffer or die," so, in an outburst of passionate love, Ignatius exclaims: "Come fire and cross and grapplings with beasts, wrenching of bones, hacking of limbs, crushing of my whole body; come cruel tortures of the devil to assail me, only be it mine to attain unto Jesus Christ." (Rom., V.) But this dreadful joy in crucifying the body is not enough for the mystical ardor of Ignatius. As many of the greatest mystics of Christendom, he is filled with "the love for death.[28] He cries out: "I desire no longer to live after the manner of men." (Rom. VIII.) In the midst of life he is lusting after death.[29] To die unto the passion of Christ is the condition on which the divine life shall be in him.[30]

From the above passages it is quite evident that the mysticism of Ignatius is the truest reflection of the mysticism of Paul, who also rejoiced in his sufferings and longed to depart and to be with Christ.[30]

THE GREEK APOLOGISTS AND CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM.

Evangelical mysticism ends with Ignatius of Antioch. After him Christian thought enters a new field, seeks new horizons, springs over the narrow barriers of its doctrinal inheritance and wears the appearance of a conqueror. It aims at an intimate contact with the thinkers of heathenism, and even more, at enriching itself with the spoils of its implacable foes. According to the remark of Harnack, as a consequence of the complete break with the Jewish Church there followed not only the strict necessity of quarrying the stones for the building of the Church from the Greco-Roman world, but also the idea that Christianity had a more positive relation to that world than to the synagogue. In its attempts at enlarging the circle of its speculative labors Christian thought for a time wavered between two divergent streams. Some Christian writers, emphasizing the newness of the teaching of Our Saviour, sought to show the failure of all pagan philosophy to satisfy the mind and of all pagan religion to elevate life. Others, impressed with the universality of Christian revelation, sought to show its affiliation with whatever was noblest in paganism and ethics.[31] This slow penetration of Hellenistic thought into the literature of the Greek Fathers starts with the Greek Apologists, mostly educated in the

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[28] Zahn, "Ignatius von Antiochen." Gotha, 1873, p. 562.

[29] "Magn.," V.

[30] See Falconer, "From Apostle to Priest," Edinburgh, 1900, pp. 205-207.

[31] Purves, "The Testimony of Justin Martyr to Early Christianity." New York, 1889, p. 10.

school of Platonism, reaches a high pitch in the writings of Justin and marks a new era in the story of Christian mysticism.

Certainly the mystical hue is wanting in the literary inheritance of the Greek Apologists, who aim at striking a death-blow to heathenism by the weapon of sarcasm and a tufted erudition. But they prepared for future generations the method of treating mystical themes, they opened the way to the philosophical elaboration of inward religious experiences, they made possible the harmonizing of the Christian rules of a higher spiritual life with the tenets of a more rational mysticism. The Greek apologists introduced Plato into the Christian mind, and made him the father of European mysticism.[32] If Theophilus of Antioch praised Plato as the most respectable of the philosophers, the wisest of the Greeks;[33] if Aristides and Quadratus worked out an alliance between Christianity and philosophy, Justin and Athenagoras went a step further, made of Plato a disciple of Moses and of the Jewish prophets; they considered Plato's teaching as a preparation to the Christian religion.[34] Plato's philosophy according to Justin leads us to God, strives to look upon God, therefore it is a mystical philosophy. By rehabilitating philosophy, by showing its most valuable treasure, by putting as the chief end to philosophy the inquiry for God,[35] by calling the Christian religion the only sure and valuable philosophy,[36] Justin prepared the way for the mystical speculation of later Christian writers in their attempts to harmonize Christian experiences with Platonism and Neoplatonism.[37] Through Justin, above all, the evangelical teaching began to be clothed in an Hellenic dress.

This influence of Platonic speculation on Christian mysticism is quite clear in a precious document of early Christianity, which for a long time was ascribed to Justin, the so-called "Epistle to Diognetus." Here we find a classification of the mystical states, tinted with strong Platonic colors. A Christian man, possessed of the Christian faith, receives first of all the knowledge of the Father. This knowledge when attained leads the soul to the supreme joy of the love of God. The love of God makes us the imitators of God. The imitation of God unveils to us the marvels of the divine life and reveals to us the arcana of the Deity. It is an imitation by which we share in the divine life and wisdom. Full of

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[32] Gregory, "An Introduction to Christian Mysticism," London, 1901, p. 22.

[33] "Ad Autol.," III., VI., XVI.

[34] "Dial.," VIII.; Otto, "De Justini martyris scriptis et doctrina," Jena, 1841, pp. 78-83.

[35] "Dial.," I., II.

[36] *Ib.*, VIII.

[37] Engelhardt, "Das Christentum Justin des Martyrers," Erlangen, 1878, pp. 223-40.

God while still on earth we see that God in the heavens rules the universe; then we begin to speak the mysteries of God. The imitation of God is connected with the endowment with special gifts of the Holy Spirit, with contempt of death and craving for martyrdom.[38] The true life becomes a true knowledge inwardly received.[39] In the letter to Diognetus, as well as in the Apostolic writings, the two extreme poles of the perfect life are faith and love, and Platonic influences appear in what is said there about the relations between knowledge and love.[40], [41]

IRENÆUS OF LUGDUNUM.

A strong mystical element pervades the writings of Irenæus. On the one hand, his mysticism follows closely the method inaugurated by the Greek apologists, by Justin above all, and, on the other, roots itself in a purely Christian ground, viz., in the Pauline letters. In speaking of inward religious experiences, Irenæus very often paraphrases the glowing words of love for Christ that are scattered in the writings of St. Paul. He is indeed a link of union between the primitive mystical faith and the speculation of pagan thinkers, which Greek apologists attempted to graft on Christian teaching. Thus, he is a forerunner of the bold method applied to the Christian revelation by the Alexandrian school, and strongly developed by Clement of Alexandria.

It has been alleged that Irenæus is not a mystic in the true sense of the word. He seems to single out only the divine element of the mystical life while overlooking the necessary coöperation of man to the inrushing of the Holy Spirit to the believing soul. In the mind of Irenæus, says Professor Jones, the impartation of God to man is not something mystical. He does not conceive of man as having a natural capacity for God, as possessing within himself a meeting-place with God.[42] But it cannot be denied that in the light of many passages the Irenæan conception of the mystical life does not at all set at naught the exercise of human powers in the drawing of the believing soul nearer to God. To prove what I say, it might suffice to recall to our minds, that Irenæus constantly say, it may suffice to recall to our minds that Irenæus constantly attempted to blend Christianity and Christian doctrine with classical learning, and thus he intimated that the Christian soul could

[38] "Ep. Diogn.," X.

[39] *Ib.*, XII.

[40] See Adam, "The Religious Thinkers of Greece," Edinburgh, 1908, pp. 396-397.

[41] A rudimentary sketch of Ignatius' mysticism is to be found in the recent work of Dr. Michael Rackl: "Die Christologie des hesligen Ignatius von Antiochien," Freiburg in Breisgau, 1914, pp. 201-205.

[42] "Studies in Mystical Religion," London, 1909, p. 81.

not move in an exclusively supernatural atmosphere, there to live in a state of quietistic passivity, in the apathy pointed out by Clement of Alexandria as the highest summit of the gnostic's life.[43]

According to Irenæus, there are some stages of spiritual life through which Christian souls have to pass before climbing to the summits of divine contemplation. These degrees are enumerated by Harnack as follows: "Restoration of the likeness of God in humanity, abolition of death, connection and union of man with God, adoption of man as son of God, imparting of the Spriit who now constantly abides with man, imparting of a knowledge of God, culminating in beholding Him, bestowal of an everlasting life."[44]

The synthesis of the mystical teaching of Irenæus is outlined in the following beautiful passage, which sets forth the highest transformation of a soul absorbed in a loving contemplation of the divine Reality: "Those who see the Light are within the light, and partake of His brilliancy; even so, those who see God are in God and receive of His splendor. But His splendor vivifies them. Those, therefore, who see God, do receive life. And for this reason, He although beyond comprehension, boundless and invisible, rendered Himself visible, comprehensible and within the capacity of those who believe, that He might vivify those who receive and behold Him through faith. For, as His greatness is past finding out, so also His goodness is beyond expression; by which having been seen, He bestows life upon those who see Him. It is not possible to live apart from life, and the means of life is found in fellowship with God; but fellowship with God is to know God and to enjoy His goodness."[45]

The personification of the mystical experiences of Irenæus is the *perfect man,* a conception brought over from Pauline mysticism. Man is made in the image and likeness of God. Even by sin he does not lose the image of God; but it is by tending toward the divine perfection that he may reach a moral assimilation to God. The perfect man is possessed of a rich treasure of religious experiences, wrought by the indwelling of the Spirit in a purified soul. He is defined by Irenæus as a man in whom the Spirit dwells:[46] "Those who have received the Spirit of God remaining in them, and preserve their souls and bodies blameless, holding fast the faith of God, are perfect men."

In order to attain the highest intensity of the spiritual life, man need not free himself of his corruptible frame of flesh. "Perfect

[43] "Strom.," VII., 14. See Klebba, "Die Anthropologie des hl. Irenæus," Münster, 1894, p. 186.

[44] "History of Dogma," XI., 292.

[45] "Adv. Haer.," IV., 25, 5.

[46] II., 6, 1.

or spiritual men are so-called because they partake of the Spirit, and not because their flesh has been stripped off and taken away, so that they have become purely spiritual. Taking away the substance of his flesh, man would not be a spiritual man, but would be the spirit of man. But when the Spirit is blended with the soul the man is rendered spiritual, and perfect because of the outpouring of the Spirit." Thus, even in the weakness of the bodily life, the Spirit is able to actualize in man the perfection of a supersensuous life.

If there is, even on earth, an assimilation of man to God, there are also some rules to attain this *newness of life* in Christ. in opposition to the spiritual man, we have the carnal man, as he is termed by St. Paul. To enter into communion with God, that carnal man must disappear within us; the soul must be clean that the Spirit of God may take delight therein, as a bridegroom in his bride (V., 9, 4.) Thus we have in the mystical terminology of Irenæus the expression, "spiritual mariage," borrowed from St. Paul and frequently employed by the latter mystics of Eastern and Western Christianity. By realizing our purification, little by little we accustom ourselves to receive and bear God within ourselves (V., 8, 1.) Works of righteousness are the condition on which the Spirit of God rests upon us (IV., 36, 6), dwells in us and on which we may make ourselves spiritual even now (V., 8, 1, 2).

The influence of the Spirit taking possession of a purified soul is manifold. The Spirit of God absorbs the weakness, the infirmity of the flesh, purifies the man and raises him up to the life of God (V., 9, 2). He becomes engrafted on us (V., 10, 1; V., 11, 1), and, through faith and chaste conversation, is preserved within us (V., 9, 3). He nourishes us, increases our life, makes us approximate to the Uncreated One (IV., 38, 3). He begets in us a new and true life (IV., 38, 3; V., 11, 2). By His influence we long to see God face to face, to be endowed with that practical knowledge of God which renews man (V., 12, 4). This true knowledge is the understanding of Christ.[47]

The glory of God, says Irenæus, is a living man, and the life of man consists in beholding God. We must, therefore, exercise ourselves in the investigation of the mysteries of God, and adorn our souls with that divine knowledge which will expand and blossom in the sunshine of love for Him who has done and does so great things for us (II., 38, 1). Love for God and for His Word will be the accomplishment of our spiritual evolution. By means of love we attain nearness to God (II., 26, 1). Where there exists an increase of love, there is a greater glory wrought by the

[47] "Fragm.," XXXVI.

power of God, for those who love Him (V., 3, 1). Love, in its turn, leads us to a conscious fellowship with God and to the vision of His beauty. "We see our Teacher, we hear His voice, we become imitators of His works, as well as doers of His words, and then we may have communion with Him, receiving increase from the Perfect One." (V., 1, 1.)

It is the outpouring of the Spirit that achieves the inward communion of God and man, imparting indeed God to man and attaching man to God (V., 1, 1). Love toward God produces communion with Him. But communion with God is *life and light,* and the enjoyment of all the benefits which He has in store (V., 27, 2). A natural outcome of the God-loving stage is the vision of God, followed by the endowment of the soul by charismatic gifts." Men shall see God, that they may live, being immortal by that sight, and attaining even unto God. The life in God carries on the prophetic spirit and gifts (IV., 20, 6). Then we reach the highest rung of the mystical ladder: *"Pertingentes usque in Deum"* (IV., 20, 6). Jesus Christ brings us to be even what He is in Himself (V. Pref). The likeness after God, wrought in us by the mysterious influence of the Spirit, transforms our human nature into a divine one: *"Primo quidem homines, tunc demum Dii"* (IV., 38, 4). It is not enough to be nearer to the Uncreated (IV., 38, 3). Man needs to share in the divine nature, to become God, as, before Irenæus, Theophilus of Antioch said,[48] and after him, many Greek and Latin Fathers.[49] It deserves here to be noted that the idea of deification is found in both the philosophical mysticism of the Platonic speculation and the Evangelical mysticism of the Christian faith, and by yielding to it, Irenæus recognizes that on some points Christian religious experiences are cognate to those of noble-minded heathen philosophers, and, that, therefore, Christian thought is not bound to abjure any contact with Hellenic culture.

THE MYSTICISM OF ST. ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA.

Dr. Rufus Jones says that the trend of the thought of Athanasius was not that of a mystic. Athanasius is, first of all, the theologian of the Word, of Redemption, of the Incarnation, the complete purpose of which is to deify human nature. His mysticism is more theological than philosophical. External causes, viz., ascetic practices and sacraments, are to him the main sources of mystical life. He distinguishes two ways open to Christian souls. The one, the more moderate and ordinary is marriage; the other, angelic and unsurpassed, is virginity. If a man embraces this holy and un-

[48] "Aut.," II., 27.
[49] Fleming, p. 19.

earthly way, he will possess the most wonderful gifts.[50] The true life requires death to the world and life in Christ: "The saints, having become dead to the world, and having renounced the merchandise of the world, gain an honorable death. They are also able, preserving the apostolic likeness, to say: "I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless I live.' For that is the true life, which a man lives in Christ."[51] And elsewhere: "We imitate the saints when we acknowledge Him who died, and no longer live unto ourselves, but Christ henceforth lives in us."[52] In the newness of life in Christ there are some who have not attained to the perfect way and others who have advanced beyond the full stature of childhood, and lastly others who walk in the perfect way and receive the Word for bread and flesh for food.[53]

When Christ lives in us the Word of God becomes the principle of our knowledge of divine things, the spring of our restoration, of our appropriation of the divine nature, the mirror in which God reflects His beauty ere our eyes are delighted in it. The Word, therefore, who abides in us[54] is the Giver of the spiritual life, the Giver of the Spirit, who achieves within us the mystical union of our soul with God: "The Word Himself has spoken of Himself as anointed with the Spirit for us. And, therefore, have we securely received it, He being said to be anointed in the flesh; for the flesh being first sanctified in Him and He being said, as man, to have received for its sake, we have the sequel of the Spirit's grace, receiving out of His fullness."[55]

The main thesis of Athanasius' Mysticism is found in the following formula: "We are deified by the Word in the Father through the Holy Spirit," or in its equivalent: "The Father perfects and renews all beings in the Spirit by the Word."[56] "As we are sons and gods because of the Word in us, so we shall be in the Son and in the Father, and we shall be accounted to have become one in the Son and in the Father, because that Spirit is in us, Which is the Word Which is in the Father."[57] The oneness of our being with the Divine nature, a oneness, however, which avoids the extreme poles of Pantheism and Nihilism, is achieved at first in the Word, and afterwards in the Father. "Through the Spirit we are found to be in God, and in this respect to be conjoined with Him.

50 "Ep. Am.," P. G., XXVI., 1073; Eickhorn "Athanasii De vita ascetica testimonia collecta," Halle, 1886, p. 6.

51 "Fest. Ep.," VII., 3.

52 "Fest. Ep.," V., 4.

53 "Fest. Ep.," X., 4.

54 "De Decr.," XXX.

55 "Contra Ar.," I., 50.

56 I. "Ser.," 9.

57 "Contra Ar.," III., 25.

He wills that we should receive the Spirit, that when we receive it, having the Spirit of the Word which is in the Father, we too may be found, on account of the Spirit, to become one in the Word, and through Him in the Father."[58]

The influence of the Spirit on the development of mystical experiences is variously emphasized by Athanasius. Through the Spirit we share in the divine life; through Him, Christ unites us to the Father.[59] In the Spirit we gaze at God by the illumination of our mind,[60] or Christ illumines us in the Spirit. Through the Spirit we are made sons of God.[61] and in Athanasius the sonship of God is a synonym of the deification of the soul.[62]

But even in this theological scheme which makes the spiritual life rest on purely supernatural grounds, we meet with rationalistic elements of speculation. It is a matter of doubt whether to Athanasius the indwelling of the Word of God within us be the outcome of the theological fact of the Incarnation or a cosmological truth associated with the creation of man: "We have been made after the image of the Word," says Athanasius, "and called both the image and the glory of God, yet not on our account, but because of that image and true glory of God inhabiting us, which is His Word, *who was for us afterwards made flesh*, have we this grace of our designation."[62] According to this passage the indwelling of God in us and our deification chronologically precede the coming of the Incarnate God. The Word of God inhabits us in a natural way by means of a reflection of His image in our souls. We have, therefore, a natural capacity of reflecting the rays of His uncreated Light, a vision of God produced within us by the exercise of natural powers, as suggested in the Neo-Platonic system of philosophy.

But in spite of some conflicting statements as to the indwelling of the Word in us, the supernatural character of the mystical deification of the soul is brought out in a bold relief in writings of Athanasius. The adoption of the soul is sometimes exhibited as an effect of the initiation of baptism.[64] "The only renewal of our being is given by the baptismal waters, that open our souls to the being is given by the baptismla waters, that open our souls to the tides of the grace of the Holy Spirit.[65] Then we become sons of God." Because of the grace of the Spirit, which has been given to

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58 "Contra Ar.," III., 25.
59 I. "Ser.," 24.
60 I. "Ser.," 19.
61 *Ib.*, 19.
62 Bornhäuser, "Die Vergottungslehre des Athanasius," Gütersloh, p. 25.
63 "Contra Ar.," III., 10.
64 "Contra Ar.," I., 34.
65 IV., "Ser.," 13.

us, in Him we come to be and He in us; and since it is the Spirit of God, therefore through His becoming in us, reasonably are we, as having the Spirit, considered to be in God, and thus is God in us."[66]

The renewed soul raises itself to the pure contemplation of God, for the Holy Spirit is a sanctifying and illuminating energy.[67] Here also the great Alexandrian seems to waver between two conflicting trends of mind. On the one hand, he appears as a follower of what we call the negative way, as to the knowledge of God: "Although it be impossible, he says, to comprehend what God is, yet it is possible to say what He is not."[68] "The more I endeavor to force myself to understand the divinity of the Word, so much the more does the knowledge thereof withdraw itself from me; and in proportion as I think that I apprehend Him, insomuch I perceive myself to fail of doing so."[69] On the other hand, some of his passages hint at a natural capacity of beholding God imparted to man, "a capacity received not from without, but from herself of the knowledge and apprehension of the Word of God."[70] When the soul gets rid of all the filth of sin, it beholds as in a mirror the image of the Father, even the Word, and by this means reaches the idea of the Father.[71] To reconcile these real or apparent contradictions in the mystical scheme of Athanasius, it would be necessary to explain fully his theology of the Word and the Incarnation, a study overstepping the limits of our subject.

Whatever we may think of the source and nature of our knowledge of God, Athanasius affiirms that the Word unveils to men some of the hidden splendors of the Deity. He manifested Himself in a body that we might receive the idea of the unseen Father.[72] The degree of this contemplation varies according to the individual capacity of each soul, because the Word of God is rich and manifold,[73] but it leads us to the final stage of a conscious fellowship with God, of a transformation of our created being in an incorruptible one.[74]

F. A. Palmieri, O. S. A.

Philadelphia.

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66 "Contra Ar.," III., 24; "De decr.," 30.

67 I. "Ser.," 20.

68 "Ad Mon.," II.

69 *Ib.*, I.

70 "Adv. Gentes," XXXIII.

71 *Ib.*, XXXIV.

72 "De Incarn.," 54.

73 "Ep. Heort.," X., 4; Wendt, "Die Christliche Lehre von der menschlichen Volkommenheit," Göttingen, 1882, p. 46.

74 Hoss, "Studien über das Schrifttum und die Theologie des Athanasius," Freiburg, 1899, p. 76.

Book Reviews

THE MASTER'S WORD IN THE EPISTLES AND GOSPELS. Sermons for all the Sundays and Principal Feasts of the Year. By *Rev. Thomas Flynn, C. C.* 2 volumes. 8vo., cloth. About 650 pages. Net, $3.00. New York: Benziger Brothers.

There has been a demand for a sermon-book based on the Epistles and Gospels which would contain a unified and related series of discourses for the Sundays and the principal feasts of the year on the subjects proposed for consideration in the Epistles and Gospels themselves. It was to supply this demand that "The Master's Word" was written. It is a sermon work that the busy priest may pick up with confidence and be certain that he will find a theme exactly suited to the day at hand. In the two volumes there is a total of sixty discourses, all of the same length and modeled on the same plan, which is substantially as follows: 1. The special subject proposed for consideration as seen from the Epistle and Gospel (taken in connection with each other and in view of the particular Sunday or feast as such.) This subject is seen to be stated in the Epistle in theory, as it were, by St. Paul or some other apostle, and in the Gospel in practice, as it were, by some work, miracle, or saying of Christ Himself. The connection between the two as well as the sequence of the subject in relation to those preceding and following it, is made apparent. 2. A brief explanation of the subject. 3. The bearing of the Epistle on the subject. 4. The bearing of the Gospel on the subject. 5. The teaching of the Church on the subject. The preacher has therefore all the year round a regular calendar of subjects for every Sunday and principal feast in order, with printed notes in the words of Holy Scripture itself as found in the Epistles and Gospels. These subjects whilst definite are yet sufficiently elastic to allow of his own ideas on the matter.

THE LILY OF ISRAEL; or, Life of the Blessed Virgin. By *Abbé Gerbet.* New revised edition. With an Introduction by William Livingston. Cloth, New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

In the golden days of childhood we all loved that sweet story of Our Lady's life, "The Lily of Israel," In riper years when we turned once more the dear old pages, something seemed amiss. The story was still interesting, still fascinating, but here there was a strange use of a word; an unhappy turn of a phrase; again a marvelous incident related with an enthusiasm which carried its writer beyond the confines of credibility. As a consequence many lovers

of Our Lady have longed for just such a work as the one here presented, possessing all the old charm while retaining nothing that might make the judicious grieve. The writer of this new version has performed a difficult task with a sureness of touch which comes from long literary experience and a refinement of sympathy that betokens a labor of love. Some errors in geographical situations have been corrected, the whole narrative of events is brought into strict conformity with Biblical facts. Texts of Scripture, that in the old version were translated from the French, are here quoted in the more familiar words of our own Bible, and the whole work, while adhering as closely as possible to the original, is presented in a new dress, worthy of the advance made in Catholic literature during the last twenty years. The result is a real prose poem that may be read and enjoyed by young and old, with no fear that any page will cause the most critical to wish it had been written in a vein of less imaginative fervor. The extraordinary virtues of some holy souls were so hidden away from the eyes of the world that even our feeblest effort to show them forth in words must needs call the language of imagination to its aid. Genius is a gift of God and should find its noblest expression in making known the love, the wisdom and the omnipotence of Our Heavenly Father. The lives of God's chosen ones should not be mere prosy statements of bald facts. Truth is useful and necessary in its proper place, Truth as presented by an artist is still truth, absolute and unstained, but illuminated, glorified and imbued with new power to warm the affections, strengthen the will and inspire the mind of man. Such was the noble purpose which inspired the Abbé Gerbet to compose "The Lily of Israel," and such was the purpose which prompted the preparation of this appealingly beautiful new version.

THE STORY OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. A Narrative of the Development of the Early Church. By *Rev. Denis Lynch, S. J.* With 16 full-page illustrations and map. 8vo., cloth, 295 pages. Net, $1.75; postage, 15 cents. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This book is a rich and graphic narrative of the propagation of the Christian faith throughout a great portion of the Roman Empire up to the closing years of the great Apostle of the Gentiles. The Church of Christ is seen quickly perfecting its essential organization, diffusing with uniformity its distinctive practices, making use of Jew and Greek and Roman, however hostile or contemptuous, availing itself of the Pax Romana—the undisputed universal sway of Rome—to inaugurate the last and greatest phase of the religious dispensation of God to mankind. In this book. Father Lynch visualizes all this for us. With a broad understanding of the history

and conditions of apostolic times, he pictures with graphic touch the details of daily life as they were at that period. With a happy combination of general history and the lore of the classics he makes us see under just what conditions the early Church was fostered. He shows us the apostles on their journeys from place to place, directing our attention to points of interest on the way, and relating all to the Sacred Text. The book is unique. On the one hand it is an intimate and detailed study of the development of the early Church; on the other it is in great measure an enchanting account of a personally conducted tour of the East under the leadership of the Apostle of the Gentiles. For those who desire a broader knowledge of apostolic times and customs, this work will be of great assistance, while it will also greatly please those who wish an entertaining narrative of the early spread of the faith. The main chapter heads are: "Introductory," "The Ascension of Our Lord and the Descent of the Holy Ghost," "Progress and Persecution," "The Deacons and Their Work," "St. Paul, the Vessel of Election," "Peace and Progress of the Church," "Herod's Persecution and Death," "The Mission of Saints Paul and Barnabas," "The Council of Jerusalem," "The Second Mission of St. Paul," "The Third Mission Journey of St. Paul," "The Last Visit to Jerusalem," "St. Paul Before Felix and Agrippa," "The Tempestuous Voyage of St. Paul to Rome" and "St. Paul in Rome."

ILLUSTRATIONS FOR SERMONS AND INSTRUCTIONS. Edited by *Rev. Charles J. Callan, O. P.* Cloth, net, $2.00. New York: Joseph L. Wagner.

This unusual and entirely novel work contains, in its several thousand quotations, definitions, word pictures and stories, all pointed and instructive, a complete storehouse of suggestive material for the pulpit, relating to all topics of importance in Catholic doctrine and practice. In its immense variety of illustrations and choice literature gleanings of the highest order, this work furnishes to the pulpit orator a wealth of explanatory and rhetorical matter for the exposition of moral and religious truths. It is a Thesaurus of valuable information and of beautifully expressed throught, intended as an aid in embellishing sermons and instructions with choice imagery, as well as explanatory matter, enforcing the points of a sermon or instruction. Illustrations, as every one knows, are the best remembered parts of a sermon and many a discourse is clinched by a good incident. For the preacher, too, an apt illustration always suggests new ranges of thought. The illustrations in this work are drawn from original sources, from nature, from common life, from recent events, from science, from Holy Scripture,

from the writings and biographies of the fathers and saints, from religious experience and from other approved sources. The subjects are so arranged under heads and sub-divisions that everything can be most readily found. In addition there is an excellent and very thorough subject index. This work is entirely novel and unique; there is nothing in our language like it. It is a work of exceptional value for its purpose, and its usefulness is almost unlimited. It will be as serviceable in the classroom as in the pulpit, and besides its usefulness for these purposes, it is an excellent book for spiritual reading.

STUDIES IN TUDOR HISTORY. By *W. P. M. Kennedy, M. A.* 12mo., pp. 340, with Index. London: Constable & Co.

The author tells us: "My object in publishing this collection of studies in Tudor history is to present to the general student and reader some material connected with subjects which must be treated very briefly in the general histories of the period. The specialist will find little new in this volume, but I venture to hope that those for whom it is written will get a better insight into some of the complicated aims and intricate problems of sixteenth century life. There is a general unity in the studies, which I may call the ideal of Tudor government. This ideal can be traced through the entire age, and it will serve to connect the studies." Beginning with "The Policy of Henry VII.," the author names his chapters "Henry VIII. and Clement VII.," "The Literature of the Edwardine Reformation," "Some Aspects of Edwardine Life," "The Difficulties of Queen Mary," "The Early History of the Elizabethan Compromise in Ceremonial," "Some Aspects of Elizabethan Life," "Two Catholic Champions: Blessed Edmund Campion and Cardinal Allen," "Elizabethan Puritanish," and "Reservation Under the Anglican Prayer-Book." This list bears out the author's claim to the interest and value of the subject matter; his ability already shown in his "Life of Parker" and in "Parish Life Under Queen Elizabeth," justify the venture; and the admirable manner in which he has treated each phase of the subject brings out clearly the ideal of Tudor government which serves to connect the studies and gives them that special value for the general student which was the end hoped for.

THE FACTS ABOUT LUTHER. By the *Right Rev. Mons. Patrick F. O'Hare, LL. D.* New York: Fr. Pustet & Co.

Under the suggestive title of "The Facts About Luther," there has been published an important new volume by the Right Rev.

Monsignor Patrick F. O'Hare, LL. D., rector of St. Anthony's Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., who is well known as a writer and lecturer on Lutheranism. The object of the volume is to present the life of Luther in its different phases, as outlined in the contents: "Luther —His Friends and Opponents," "Luther Before His Defection," "Luther and Indulgences," "Luther and Justification," "Luther on the Church and the Pope," "Luther and the Bible," "Luther—A Fomentor of Rebellion," "Luther on Free-will and Liberty of Conscience" and "Luther as a Religious Reformer." The forthcoming celebration to commemorate the fourth centenary of Luther's "revolt," which occurs October, 1917,, tend to invest the present volume with a special timeliness. But, apart from this consideration, the need has long been felt of a short but reliable work in English on Luther, based on the best authorities and written more particularly with a view to the "man in the street." Monsignor O'Hare's work admirably fills this want, and it is published at so nominal a price that those whom the subject interests may readily procure copies for distribution.

THE HOLINESS OF THE CHURCH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Rev. Constantine Kempf, S. J.* 8vo. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Holiness is one of the marks of the true Church, but in our modesty we may be tempted to think we must go a long way back to prove our claim to this mark. Of course, in a general way, we speak of the holiness of many children of the Church in all ages, but if we were asked to particularize in modern times, perhaps we should be at a loss. This is what the author of this book does. He particularizes and shows us that we have had holy Bishops, holy secular priests, holy religious men and women, holy lay men and women, and, what is still more surprising, holy martyrs, in the nineteenth century. He gives a brief review of the lives of those particularly whose process of beatification has been already finished, or is in actual progress. The book is interesting, instructive and consoling. It contains an excellent bibliography for those who wish to follow the subjects further.

CAMILLUS OF LELLIS, the Hospital Saint. By the Sisters of Mercy. With portrait frontispiece. 8vo., cloth, 165 pages, net, $1.00. New York: Benziger Brothers.

In the life of St. Camillus de Lellis we have an inspiring record of the self-sacrificing zeal of one of God's most humble servants, the founder of an order of black-robed, red-crossed men organized for the personal service of the sick, the poor sick, even the plague-

stricken. The order is shown under the guiding hand of St. Camillus, first as a sort of secret society formed in the hospital of S. Giacomo for the purpose of giving special attention to the souls of the sick, then as a congregation, founded in the direst poverty, and finally as an order. The childhood of the saint was singularly unpromising, and his wild and reckless youth gave small indication of any spiritual development; but the gentle grace of a vocation descended upon his soul and transformed him from a "soldier of fortune" to a man of God. It is indeed an inspiring account and one calculated to give courage to timid souls. Among the many interesting details of this beautiful life is the description of the association of St. Camillus with the Apostle of Rome, St. Philip Neri, who was the confessor of our saint for a long period. The relations between the two saints form one of the most charming parts of the volume. An appropriate gift for all engaged in nursing the sick, whether in hospitals or at home.

CONFERENCES FOR YOUNG WOMEN. By *Rev. Reynold Kuehnel.* Cloth, net, $1.50. New York: Jos. L. Wagner.

Since the appearance of this author's much admired volume of "Conferences for Boys," the publication from his pen of a similar set of "Conferences for Young Women" has been eagerly awaited by many priests, who will now learn with pleasure of the issue of this volume. He who would take up this book under the impression that he is opening a volume of the conventional and sermon-like literature of good advice will be most strikingly and agreeably surprised. It is a fresh, bright, stirring book from cover to cover; it is searching and pointed, sane and practical. Father Kuehnel's "Conferences" are alive with the life of their environment, as well as full of striking phrases. Their practical counsels are often very acute as well as sound, and those who have on hand the difficult duty of discoursing to young women will find this volume of exceptional interest and usefulness. Besides being of great service to priests, the book is also an excellent one to put into the hands of young girls and women. They will surely profit by reading it.

THE LOVE OF GOD AND THE LOVE OF THE NEIGHBOR. The Fundamental Principle of the Divine Law Demonstrated to Children by Means of a Thorough Explanation of the Commandments. By *Rev. J. V. Schubert.* Cloth, net, $1.25. New York: Joseph L. Wagner.

This book furnishes, by means of a thorough explanation of the Commandments, a complete course of instructions in the duties and obligations of the Christian. The instructions are couched in simple

and lucid language, and they are replete with examples and illustrations that make the meaning of the law of God plain to children. The author has incorporated in these instructions cogent exhortations for leading a good life, in accordance with duty and with striving after perfection, and he shows that this is the only way to insure both temporal and eternal welfare, and, what is more, he demonstrates to youthful listeners that the doing of the law is "sweet and easy."

The book will be found an ecxellent aid, especially in connection with instructions on the Sacrament of Penance.

NAMES THAT LIVE IN CATHOLIC HEARTS. By *Anna T. Sadlier.* Memoirs of Cardinal Ximenes, Michael Angelo, Samuel de Champlain, Archbishop Plunkett, Charles Carroll, Henri de Larochejacquelein, Simon de Montfort. A new edition. New York: Benziger Brothers.

No more delightful reading can be placed in the hands of the people than this volume. In devotion to duty these men far surpass the heroes of romance, and the story of their lives, with their trials and triumphs, cannot fail to excite interest in every heart.

CATHOLIC CHRISTIANITY AND THE MODERN WORLD. A Course of Sermons for the Ecclesiastical Year. By *Rev. K. Krogh-Tonning, D. D.* Cloth, net, $1.25. New York: Jos. L. Wagner.

This work of the famous Norwegian convert, Dr. Krogh-Tonning, had, among his various apologetic writings, the widest circulation, in the original as well as in its French and German translations. The author is a pulpit orator of great renown, and the practical, forceful and eloquent form in which he discusses in these sermons the religious problems of the day accounts largely for the great success of this remarkable work. In an appreciative review in the "Stimmen aus Maria Laach," edited by Jesuit Fathers, this work is referred to as a veritable treasure.

HER FATHER'S SHARE. By *Edith M. Power.* 12mo., pp. 290. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The interesting heroine, brought up amid the hills of Ireland, is invited, when a young woman, to her grandmother's home in Portugal Before she arrives, a cousin precedes her, personates her, and is received in her stead. She goes to other relatives who live in Operto, and this complication and variation of scene lend themselves admirably to the interesting story that follows. There is a mystery, which is the key to the story and which is not revealed

until the end. The love element is not wanting, and the remarkably graphic pictures of Portugal and Portuguese life are due to the author's long residence in that country.

GREAT INSPIRERS. By *Rev. J. A. Zahm, C.S.C., Ph.D.* 12mo., cloth, net, $1.50. New York: Benziger Brothers.

In this new book by one of the most gifted writers of to-day, the author gives interesting pictures of two important periods in the world's history—that which witnessed the downfall of paganism and that which constituted the nexus between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Historians agree that the dominant figures of these two periods were Eusebius Heironymus—better known as St. Jerome —who gave us the celebrated Latin version of the Hebrew Bible—and Dante Alighieri, the pride of Italy and the glory of Christendom.

ENLARGEMENTS UPON MEDITATIONS MADE IN TIME OF RETREAT. By *Rev. John Rickaby, S. J.* Cloth, net, 60 cents. New York: Jos. L. Wagner.

The renowned author offers here what might be termed a brief commentary upon the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. The book is replete with beautiful and lofty thought and will prove decidedly helpful for all those entrusted with the spiritual guidance of souls. The experience and learning of this distinguished author renders his chapters on the topics dealt with in this book of particular value to priests in charge of retreats to religious and the laity.

SHORT SERMONS ON GOSPEL TEXTS. By *Rev. M. Bossaert.* Cloth, net, $1.00 New York: Jos. L. Wagner.

These brief yet full sermons may be recommended to priests who are desirous of suggestions for plain and practical yet impressive talks on Christian doctrine and Christian conduct. The sermons make practical application of the Christian truth to modern conditions. They are both instructive and persuasive, and well fitted to the congregations of the present day.

GRAPES OF THORNS. By *Mary T. Waggaman.* With three illustrations. Octavo, net, $1.25 New York: Benziger Brothers.

As a background for a bewitchingly beautiful story the author has given us a happy combination of the tang of the sea and the witchery of the mountains and garnished it with the quiet charm of convent school life, rich with the breath of simple piety and the touching friendship of young girlhood.

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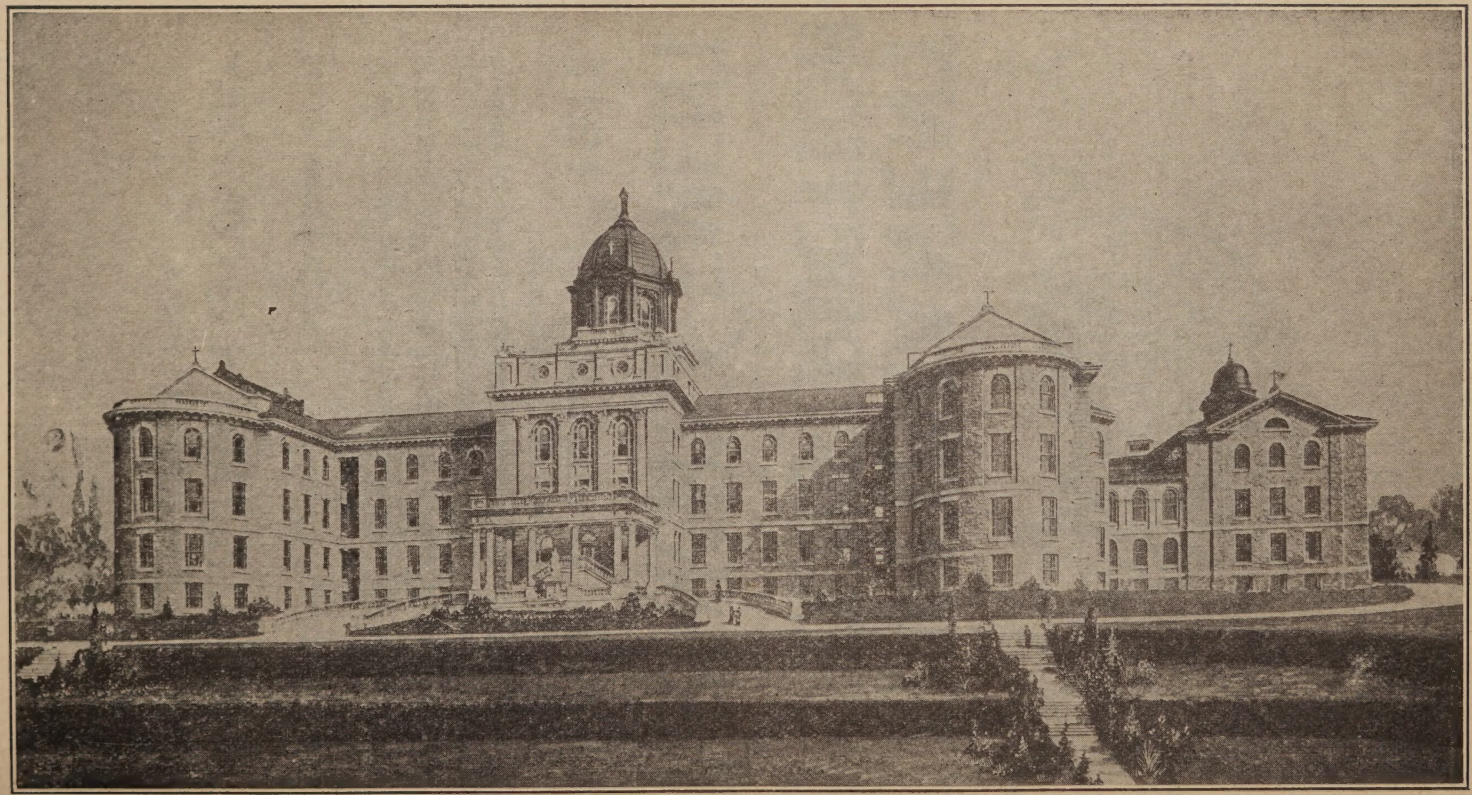

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